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AFTERMATH OF THE ACHILLE LAURO INCIDENT

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HEARING AND MARKUP
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND ITS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
H. Con. Res. 228

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AFTERMATH OF THE *ACHILLE LAURO* INCIDENT

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1985

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, at 1:38 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dan Mica (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MICA. The Subcommittee on International Operations will come to order.

First, let me indicate we have agreement from the majority and minority to proceed while members are still en route to the hearing, and, second, let me just open with two comments.

Today we meet to continue the review begun last week by the full Committee on Foreign Affairs of the ramifications of the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*. This is a continuing process. It has not begun here, and I do not think it will end here. This subcommittee has spent the last 2 years dealing with international terrorism, particularly that which is aimed at Americans and American personnel.

Our staff research indicates that over the last decade, there have been over 5,000 incidents of terrorism with 4,000 dead and over 8,000 wounded. The number of the annual incidents has increased from 500 a year from 1979 through 1983, to over 600 a year in 1984, and although Americans are prime targets, citizens of 87 countries have been victims of terrorism.

This is a situation that has plagued our globe in this modern day. International terrorism has been the focus of numerous hearings over the past 3 years, challenges posed by this cruel phenomena are increasing every day, but we have come a long way. We have passed significant legislation dealing with payment of rewards and new approaches, and a lot more needs to be done.

In addition to initiatives to improve protection of U.S. Government personnel abroad, strengthen airport security, and tighten bilateral cooperation to combat terrorism, it is imperative that the United States take the lead and press forward in the international community to raise world awareness and to reach agreements and ways to effectively respond to international terrorism.

Our first witness today will be Mrs. Marilyn Klinghoffer, widow of Leon Klinghoffer, whose cruel and unnecessary death reminds us of our duty to do our best to eliminate terrorism.

Mrs. Klinghoffer's strength, as evidenced by her willingness to appear before this subcommittee so soon after the tragic death of

her husband, is a tribute to his memory, to all victims of terrorism, and to those who are still held captive in Lebanon, or, for that matter, any place else in the world.

Our second witness is Ambassador Bob Oakley, Director of the Office for Counterterrorism and Emergency Planning.

I would indicate that we will be questioning Ambassador Oakley at length about what measures our Government has been taking in attempting to combat terrorism, but, at the same time, our questions to Mrs. Klinghoffer will be limited because of legal constraints on the case pending as a result of this tragic situation.

Before I call on our colleague, Congressman Weiss, to introduce Mrs. Klinghoffer, I would like to ask my ranking minority member, Ms. Snowe, if she has any opening statement.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would first like to extend my heartfelt condolences to you, Mrs. Klinghoffer, on the sudden and tragic loss of your husband. I know this is a very difficult and trying time, and, so, we doubly appreciate the fact that you are here with us today.

You are both to be commended and admired for the courage you have continued to display in the aftermath of such a tragedy, and I believe you are doing your husband's memory a great honor by forcefully speaking out against international terrorism.

The fact that this subcommittee, as well as the full Foreign Affairs Committee, has been devoting a considerable amount of time to international security and terrorism, I think, is sad testament to the new era that we have entered into. But, we have a responsibility to devote as much time as may be necessary, because, as you said, Mrs. Klinghoffer, at a news conference on Monday, for the first time, we have to realize it could happen to anyone, anywhere, at any time.

The borderless nature of terrorism has now moved into entirely new and extremely vulnerable areas of international concern, that is shipping and cruise lines. Indeed, we found out last week from both the Department of State as well as Transportation that there are virtually no international maritime standards. Even screening of passengers and luggage is rare.

As we confront terrorism on the ground and in the air, there is a free and open path toward violence on the high seas. This is in stark contrast to international aviation, where the United States has standards that are the toughest in the world.

Thus, I believe it is essential that the United States be prepared to propose the creation of a set of maritime security standards at the upcoming international maritime organization conference.

The price of continuing without such standards, as we saw in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, is simply too high. We must work to prevent similar incidents from reoccurring.

With this subcommittee's jurisdiction over the safety of Americans abroad, we have a great responsibility, as does the Congress, in preventing future tragedies. We must all become, as Mrs. Klinghoffer has stated, "soldiers in the battle against terrorism."

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Congressman Weiss.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to express my appreciation to you and to Ms. Snowe and to Chairman Fascell and Mr. Broomfield, for scheduling and holding these hearings on this very important subject at this critical time.

The whole Nation's heart goes out to Marilyn Klinghoffer and her family in this time of their tragic loss. The manner in which Marilyn Klinghoffer has borne that tragedy, and the dignity and courage that she has demonstrated, have won the respect and admiration of all Americans.

So, I am especially pleased and privileged to introduce her now to this subcommittee.

Let me make note of the fact, also, that with her in the first row are members of her family, her two daughters, Lisa and Ilsa; her son-in-law, Gerry; her son-in-law to be, Paul; Mrs. Charlotte Spiegel, who was on the boat, as well as her daughter, Jill; and some other family members, Dr. Herman, among others.

And, let me note that with her at her right is Jay Fischer, a family friend and attorney, who is here because of the cautions which have been expressed by the Justice Department as to some questions which they would prefer that she not respond to, although she will be pleased to respond to questions at the close of her testimony.

And, with that, again, I am pleased and proud to introduce Mrs. Marilyn Klinghoffer to you.

Mr. Fischer may have some preparatory remarks, first.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Mr. Fischer.

Mr. FISCHER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Please proceed.

Mr. FISCHER. In light of the pending criminal prosecutions in Italy and in light of other evaluations being done by Mrs. Klinghoffer's attorneys, I would hope that the members of the committee might be able to avoid questions with respect to the specific treatment that Mrs. Klinghoffer suffered aboard the *Achille Lauro*, the specific treatment accorded to her husband, and the presence or absence of security measures on board the *Achille Lauro*.

With respect to those four areas, we feel it would be inappropriate for Mrs. Klinghoffer to respond at this point in time, but other than that, Mrs. Klinghoffer is here to answer all of your questions.

Mr. MICA. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Klinghoffer, let me just say that when your Congressman, Congressman Weiss, mentioned you might be here and would say a word, we welcomed that opportunity, but we have no intention of cross examining you. Please feel free to say anything you would like to say about the situation. If there is a comment we would like to make or the members would like to ask a question, feel free to answer it or not to answer it.

Please proceed.

**STATEMENT OF MARILYN KLINGHOFFER, PASSENGER ON THE
ACHILLE LAURO, WIDOW OF SLAIN PASSENGER LEON KLING-
HOFFER, ACCOMPANIED BY JAY FISCHER, ATTORNEY TO MRS.
KLINGHOFFER**

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER. Thank you, and good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

The purpose of my appearance before you today is to make clear my conviction that terrorism constitutes the gravest danger confronting the civilized world. We all live on the front lines of this battlefield, for that is precisely what it is, an undeclared war in which we are all combatants.

Think back over the past 2 years, think about where terrorism has been targeting its victims. On the airplanes, at airports, in villages, on beaches, in restaurants, and, finally, in the least likely place of all, on a peaceful cruise ship in the middle of the sea. And, the victims have not been confined to members of the military forces.

On the contrary, most of them were innocent civilians maimed or killed because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time. Each person sitting in this room, each member of this committee, each Member of this Congress, and all of your constituents, are potential victims, unless we enlist in a worldwide crusade to eradicate terrorism from our midst.

I have had an opportunity to read House Concurrent Resolution 217, which has been introduced in this committee. I urge this committee and the Congress to endorse the concepts expressed in this resolution, and to provide a structure to implement it.

For without the full unequivocal resolve and commitment of this country, the battle against terrorism cannot be waged successfully. I join in commending President Reagan for his courageous command decision, and the members of the Armed Forces who were instrumental in carrying it out and apprehending those responsible for this hijacking and murder.

I join in asking that all governments work together to ensure that all of those involved in or responsible for the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* and the murder of my husband be prosecuted and punished.

I join in asking the Congress to foster universal acceptance by all nations of the concept that terrorism is the ultimate crime against humanity, for it is only through firm resolve of all nations to act in concert that it will become impossible for terrorists to find safe havens anywhere in the world.

These people must be made to know that once having committed an act of terrorism, there will be no place for them to go, no place to run, no place to hide. Terrorism can function only under the protection of nations hostile to human values and world peace.

I believe that my husband's death has made a difference in the way that people now perceive their vulnerability. I believe that what happened to the passengers on the *Achille Lauro* and to my family can happen to anyone at any time at any place.

For the first time in memory, there appears to be a manifestation of an outrage so universal that it speaks in any tongue. They all cry out for action. I bring to you today a representation of the

heartfelt outpour of thousands of people of this Nation, expressing to me in letters, cards, and telegrams, their compassion and their anger.

I believe that people of good will, not only in this country, but all over the world, are ready to close rank and become soldiers in the battle against terrorism. As its latest victim, I bring to you also the lament of the martyrs and the survivors that have gone before, the Marines in Beirut, the Israeli athletes in Munich, the women and children of Maalot, Dora Bloch at Entebbe, the American diplomats in Khartoum and elsewhere, Navy diver Robert Stethem and the other hostages on the TWA flight 871.

My husband, Leon Klinghoffer, and the Americans still held hostage in Lebanon, whose families are here today in Washington, and I cry out for the countless other victims, to the everlasting shame of our time, who remain unknown and unnamed.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

I commend you for that excellent statement, and let me tell you I know with a personal loss it is very difficult to focus on anything other than that loss, but I cannot tell you how appreciative I am and I know my colleagues are, that even during this personal tragedy, you mentioned all of these other terrorist acts. It really is a special way of focusing on the entire problem.

You know, Mrs. Klinghoffer, over the years, historically, there have been problems that governments have had to deal with that existed day after day, and the problem for one person is no different than the problem for the next person, be it something that leads to war or financial turmoil or, in this case, terrorism.

I have seen that this is always the situation that gets the attention of the public, focuses the attention of governments, the globe, as has your personal tragedy. It sometimes is the catalyst that brings about the solution to these difficult problems.

I hope that if there is any silver lining in the tragic occurrences that we have gone through, any good to come from your appearance here today, that this situation will be the catalyst that will spur the actions of the U.S. Government and other governments, and I can tell you as a member of this committee what I have seen at least with meetings here with Arafat and Hussein and others, that may be this is the incident, may be it is not all in vain that you went through this. Maybe this is the beginning to approaches that will start to solve these problems.

So, I truly appreciate your being here. I would like to call on Congressman Weiss for any comments he has.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Klinghoffer, the statement you made was moving and eloquent, and I think right to the point. There is now a tremendous opportunity, as the chairman said, to arouse the conscience of the peoples of the world. It is noteworthy that everybody wants to remove themselves from any identification with the horror of that hijacking and the murder of Leon Klinghoffer.

And, people who we had thought were beyond having any kind of conscience, the PLO and Arafat themselves, do not want any identification with it. They now want to demonstrate their commitment to peace. It seems to me that because of the general worldwide re-

vulsion, this may be the opportunity that we have needed to focus attention and to bring the governments and the leaders of the world together, so that hijackers and terrorists will know that from now on there is no place in the world for them to hide.

I think we all have noted that; in addition to this personal appearance and testimony before our subcommittee, you, with the help of friends and family, have been instrumental in creating a foundation which, at the private citizen level, will encourage the effort against terrorism, and I wanted to commend you for those efforts.

I think that those of us in the Congress will be working perhaps with renewed inspiration because of the example that you have set.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. The subcommittee would like to just take a moment to welcome the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Congressman FASCELL.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER, let me join my colleagues first in expressing sympathy to you and to your family, and, second, to convey my admiration for your courage and your determination for appearing here, and for realizing that here is an opportunity to do some good.

We recognize your sacrifice, both personal and otherwise, I can assure you, and the suggestion that you make in your testimony is the ultimate solution. The only way we are ever going to get at this problem, is to cooperate and to unify and determine as citizens and as nations, free nations, that we are just not going to let this keep happening without doing something about it.

You have made a very important contribution to solving one of the most pressing problems confronting civilization today. I just wanted to thank you.

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. The ranking minority member, Ms. SNOWE.

Ms. SNOWE. Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER, I, too, want to extend my congratulations to you on an outstanding statement in every respect.

As you so eloquently stated, none of us know when we are going to be called upon to stand in the front line in our fight against terrorism. You also focused, and I think quite appropriately, on the lack of international cooperation which was exposed as a result of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking.

So, while we had some successes, we had enormous failures as well.

As I understand it, you are planning to establish a Leon Klinghoffer Foundation on antiterrorism. Would you just share with us for a moment what is the focus of the foundation? Does it hope to increase international cooperation in any way?

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER. It will be focused on dealing with terrorism. I am getting nations to support us, other nations, and I am rewarding and educating those people who are making a stand in that direction.

We are still formulating some of the other points that we will be covering. So, it is not quite finished yet.

Ms. SNOWE. I hope you will share with us your goals and your plans for the future, as we continue to work on this vitally impor-

tant issue. It has been an issue of extreme frustration for all of us, but this tragedy has renewed our focus as well as our awareness.

So, again, my commendations to you. Thank you for being here today.

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER. Thank you all very much for listening to me.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join my colleagues in welcoming Mrs. Klinghoffer to our committee, and in commending her on her dedication and her courage in coming forward at a time of her bereavement. I want you to know how strong the feeling is throughout the Congress in support of your fight against terrorism and our fight against terrorism. I commend the gentleman from New York for introducing the measure that he has introduced that is before our committee at the present time, memorializing Mr. Klinghoffer's tragic episode and also urging more constructive activity by the Congress.

We hope that, too, the international community will join with us in an effort to stamp out terrorism once and for all, and, certainly, the proposed foundation that you are suggesting can help move us in that direction.

We, again, thank you for the opportunity to meet with you, to hear your words, and to join with you in the effort to stamp out this menace to society.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. A special guest to our committee today, and a colleague, Congressman Jim Scheuer.

Mr. SCHEUER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate the invitation to come and join you here, although I am not a member of this committee. It is a great privilege.

I just want to say, Mrs. Klinghoffer, that I extend to you my deepest regrets for the tragic circumstances you lived through and I express my enormous admiration for the dignity and the courage and the determination and character that you have shown. You have ennobled us all by the way you have conducted yourself in your hour of travail.

I might say as an aside that nations under stress sometimes rise to the occasion, and the best of the national quality comes out. Well, the same thing is true of individuals, and you have shown us in your moment of tragedy and stress the finest possible elements of character, determination, strength, decency, and humanity that resides in all of us. You have been an object lesson for the whole country, if not for the world.

We all have watched you with quiet, deep pride.

Mr. MICA. Let me just close by saying this: I know this moment is going to pass, and the attention may fade.

Congressman Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I—Mrs. Klinghoffer—I have read your statement. The unfortunate circumstances which befell you and your husband and all those others who were passengers on that ship is something that we would like never to see happen again, but it probably will at some point, in some way, and if there is any moral or lesson to be learned from it, I hope we draw it out from your testimony, and

the grief that your family has gone through, the personal loss that you sustained.

We do not learn things too easily in this world. We do not learn them too easily in this country. We knew before the *Achille Lauro* ever left Genoa that the possibilities existed and most countries did not do as much as they should have in any event.

It is unfortunate that it had to happen to you or to any American or to any one in this world, but I hope that just as you have used this tragedy to provide, as shamedly as it is, the platform for trying to make things better and trying to set things right, so, hopefully, will we do the same.

We appreciate very much, all of us, and I want you to know that one of your fellow passengers, who is not here today, from my district, who could not be here because he just is not, frankly, up to much after having gone through this, she lives in Hollywood, I asked her to be here and she just could not, I understand the courage it took for you to be here and the kind of sacrifice it continues to take, the toll that it takes on you.

But, we will learn from this. We will take what you have given us, the strength that you have shown, the sacrifice that your husband made. We will, hopefully, make something out of it.

Mr. Weiss' resolution is a good one. You are absolutely correct. We will, hopefully, pass that on and make that a basis for what we are going to do in the future. There have been too many victims. There have been too many martyrs. We have not been strong enough in standing up to it, and it is small consolation, but some in any event, that this latest episode will have, I believe, a very positive impact on what we do for the future, and I just want to thank you for your statement and to send to you, like everybody else has done, my condolences.

Mr. MICA. Congressman Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mrs. Klinghoffer, I just want to add that I share with my colleagues, the committee, and the rest of the American people in your bereavement.

We cannot really fully appreciate and understand the kind of pressure and anguish that you have been through and are going through even at this very moment.

I would just like to say that you have shown us a tremendous amount of courage. You have re-inspired us to be able to do the kind of work that we have to be doing here in Washington in order to make the world safe. I want to let you know that both myself and all of the Members of the Congress, most likely all the Members of the Congress, are supportive of the effort and the foundation that you are instituting, together with, coincidentally, my cousin, who is your employer.

You will have, along with your husband, the special place in the history of our country when we finally get this terrorism situation under control.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

I think, seeing no other members here, I just want to take this opportunity again to thank you and tell you how much we appreciate it. This committee is grateful for your appearance, and on a personal note, if there is anything that we can do for you or your

family or your children, to help you through this difficult time, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. KLINGHOFFER. Thank you all.

Mr. MICA. And, with that, we will call on Ambassador Oakley.

We have had an extraordinary opportunity to talk with someone who has experienced first hand a subject that we have been discussing before this committee for some years.

We are now about to have Ambassador Oakley give us some information as to what the administration is doing, what actions they are taking in the State Department, to try to focus on this matter and find some real solutions to a very elusive problem.

Ambassador Oakley, I understand you have a prepared statement. As is the custom, the entire statement will be inserted in the record. You are welcome to summarize, and we will then proceed to questions.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT B. OAKLEY, DIRECTOR, OFFICE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM AND EMERGENCY PLANNING, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, ACCOMPANIED BY MICHAEL G. KOZAK, DEPUTY LEGAL ADVISER, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador OAKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I will skip over most of the prepared statement, but let me say, first, that your opening statement and Mrs. Klinghoffer's statement sum up fully the position of this administration; I would like to associate the Secretary of State and myself personally with the sympathy and admiration that have been expressed for Mrs. Klinghoffer.

She and others whose loved ones have been victims of terrorism are doing the world a great service by focusing attention upon the threat and the need for action, strong action, urgent action.

The legislative and executive branches of the Government, as you pointed out, have done a great deal separately, together, but much more needs to be done, bilaterally, multilaterally, in international organizations.

The brutal murder of Mr. Leon Klinghoffer and the ordeal suffered by his wife and the other passengers was terrible, painful. They have strengthened our resolve and determination to continue the fight against the surge of international terrorism.

As you point out, the threat is increasing and spreading, the struggle has been and will continue to be a long and complex one. It requires a constant effort, waged against not just one brand, form, and source of international terrorism, but a wide and changing variety of terrorists.

In this hearing, I understand we wish to focus primarily upon the multilateral efforts, and I will do so. First, though, I would like to briefly describe unilateral and bilateral approaches in order to set the context.

By unilateral actions, we mean passive security steps, such as strengthening the physical security of our Embassies and missions and improving cooperation to provide greater protection for private citizens abroad. The work of this committee, the leadership it has shown over the past 2 years has been very, very instrumental in this. The work you did on the Inman panel has contributed greatly.

The legislation passed last year, which brings certain international crimes under U.S. law and authorizes rewards for the arrest and punishment of terrorists also has been very helpful. As you have seen, we are using these provisions to assist us in the pursuit of terrorists abroad.

Traditional bilateral steps that we are taking include efforts to improve our cooperation with other countries in a variety of fields, such as intelligence gathering, sharing information and ideas on physical security, and multilateral international actions.

We put heavy emphasis on bilateral efforts because we have found this is generally the most productive way to build meaningful actions, not statements. We are working to get all countries to recognize the terrorist attacks against some states are, in effect, terrorist attacks against them all.

Closer cooperation is pushed at all levels by the President, Secretary of State, and others. The real payoff is not in discussions, it comes in important intelligence passed quietly through liaison channels, identification of proposed actions of terrorism, and the greater protection of our facilities and personnel abroad by foreign governments.

It includes surveillance and arrest of terrorists by local governments and other governments consulting with us on how to bring pressure to bear upon those states which flaunt international conventions or directly support terrorist groups.

During the past 11 months, more than 90 planned or potential terrorist attacks were thwarted as a result of good intelligence work, better security, and better cooperation from other governments.

An important tool, of course, in the bilateral cooperation has been the antiterrorist assistance program, which your committee has been so instrumental in funding.

Looking to multilateral cooperation, we have tried very hard and will continue to make every effort to get other governments to give effect in deeds as well as words the approach of this administration, of this committee, and Congress, to terrorism.

It is not easy. For example, in recent years, we have looked to the Summit Seven meeting of like-minded Western governments for closer cooperative measures against terrorism. Results have been mixed. We continue to press for progress here as elsewhere.

Special attention has been given to aircraft hijackings. The Bonn Declaration, in 1978, provided for concerted sanctions against states that failed to take appropriate legal action against hijackers, in conjunction with the Montreal and Hague conventions.

Yet, this has been used only once.

Mr. MICA. Ambassador Oakley, would you suspend for a moment?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Sure.

Mr. MICA. The subcommittee is going to have to take about a 10-minute recess. We have a vote coming up, and let me take one quick liberty as the chairman.

You mentioned you thwarted 90 potential terrorist attacks. Did we have any hint of any type of a ship hijacking, any—

Ambassador OAKLEY. Prior to this?

Mr. MICA. Prior to the *Achille Lauro*.

Ambassador OAKLEY. There has not been one, I think, in about 10 years, and we did not have any intelligence which pointed to anything specific.

There are always rumors floating around, but there was nothing which pointed to the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* or any particular ship.

Mr. MICA. The subcommittee stands recessed for 10 minutes.

[Recess.]

Mr. MICA. Ambassador Oakley, while we are waiting, I just want to ask you a question.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Sure.

Mr. MICA. I was thinking, as I went for this vote, about your comment that there were rumors flying around.

Were there rumors about specific hijackings of a ship or ships?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No; there were rumors that terrorist acts were being planned. We must have, I would say, seven or eight reports every day of mixed validity because we cannot confirm them for sure, saying a terrorist action is being planned, people have left country X headed for Western Europe to conduct a terrorist act against Israel or the United States.

Interpol gets these. They come in through the FBI or the CIA. There are a flood of reports that come in, Mr. Chairman, and they all have to be evaluated and frequently we will send out alert messages to be sure that any Americans in the area have been properly warned. Very seldom do they—do we get the specific followup information that indicates that something is going on.

We have, though, as I have said, on about 90 occasions, in the past year, thwarted potential incidents either because we had some advance warning or because we had better security, thanks, in part, to the money that you all have helped get for us, or because we have good cooperation from other governments. An example is the Italians when they found the seven people who were planning to blow up our Embassy in Rome.

We also have been able to forestall attacks in Bogota, Colombia, a month ago. We had reports there were going to be a wave of terrorist attacks. Three different large American business firms were able to prevent themselves from being damaged because they put on extra guards, and when somebody suspicious came up, they shooed them away. Or when somebody dropped a sack by the door, they quickly got it out of the way because it turned out to be a bomb.

But we are not always that lucky and we do not always have that good intelligence.

Mr. MICA. Just so we make sure we are doing this officially, we will call the subcommittee to order. We have permission from the minority to proceed, and what I would like you to do is go ahead and complete your statement.

I know several members want to ask you some questions, and I would like to follow up on this—the approach that we take to handle rumors and how we go back and check to see if any of them might have been helpful.

Go right ahead.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, I was saying that even with our closest allies, those who annually attend the economic summit, we fre-

quently have difficulties. France—I think, it is no secret that the United States has had the most difficulty with France. They did not even show up for the last meeting that was held in New York with President Reagan.

Also, their interpretation of what the seven governments are allowed to do is very, very narrow. The result of the differences amongst governments within the seven on terrorism as well as on a broader basis of what is in their commercial interests and political interests and how they interpret the law, is that we do not get nearly as much action against terrorism as we would like.

We can get resolutions, but we do not get action. When there is a declared intent to take concerted action, such as the Bonn Declaration, has been applied only once, and that was against Afghanistan. We could not get other countries to join us in taking action at that time or after the TWA 847 hijacking, trying to invoke precisely this same Bonn declaration, which had been agreed in 1978—but we worked on it.

We have been able to get this group to take action behind the scenes to strengthen the efforts led by the United States in the International Civil Aviation Organization [ICAO]. The work of your subcommittee, the work that we have done behind the scenes and the very vigorous presentation we made this summer after the TWA 847 hijacking, were able to produce a series of technical and yet very important changes to the standardized regulations of the International Civil Aviation Organization as it pertains to airport security.

As soon as those are endorsed by governments, the standards will be very similar to these which we have in this country. The standards will be used around the world, which will help.

As part of working with governments on a multilateral basis, we have tried hard over the years to put forward international conventions, and there a number of them, as you know, to deal with hijacking and hostage-taking.

They are important because of the moral force they offer, but their effectiveness is limited by the willingness or ability of states to enforce them. The existence of the conventions by themselves has not halted hijackings or hostage taking or crimes against diplomats. As with extradition treaties, obtaining a country's ratification of a convention or treaty is one thing, obtaining adherence and practice is something else.

But they do set a benchmark or a standard and we intend to do more of this. In specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as the International Civil Aviation Organization, things can be done. Once again, it depends upon enforcement, upon a willingness of governments to adhere to the agreements which they have signed.

We think there is progress being made in civil aviation, where we have set the tone and taken the lead for the rest of the world. Last week, as you pointed out, the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Merchant Marine Subcommittee held hearings on maritime safety and the International Maritime Organization.

We are assessing the port and the maritime security situation around the world to see what more needs to be done, to see what more we think can be done. At the same time, we will be pressing the International Maritime Organization at its meeting in London

next month to issue more precise international standards for maritime security.

Throughout the U.N. system, we are trying to promote actively antiterrorist measures. As a member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, this year, you have observed some of the things we have done there. The latest is the October 9th statement by the President of the U.N. Nations Security Council, Ambassador Walters. It had the support of all the members, and had the Security Council condemning terrorism in all its forms, wherever and by whoever commits it.

A month earlier, at our initiative, the seventh U.N. Congress for the Prevention of Crime meeting in Milan, Italy, adopted a strongly worded resolution calling on all sides to strengthen antiterrorist cooperation. Here again, you had a resolution, adopted in Italy, calling upon all states to strengthen antiterrorist cooperation, and it did not have any effect upon those who hijacked an Italian ship, somewhat later.

A similar resolution has been adopted 2 weeks ago by Interpol. The chairman this year is an American, and they have agreed, finally, to consider terrorism as a criminal activity rather than a political act.

The World Tourist Organization in Sophia, Bulgaria, expressed a deep concern over the number of violent attacks. The United States played a key role in achieving consensus adoption of this resolution.

The Sixth Committee of the General Assembly this year is considering a detailed and comprehensive resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom, which we support, and cosponsored, condemning international terrorism. There is a lot of opposition. Cuba has introduced a competing draft, which we think we can overcome, but they try to politicize the debate by focusing on state terrorism as a weapon of imperialist countries.

But, we believe that efforts of this sort are useful just as the efforts by Mrs. Klinghoffer and others whose families have been victims of terrorism are useful in focusing world attention on the problem, in raising consciousness.

We think that working in the open, passing resolutions, trying to strengthen treaties, helps also in the willingness of governments to do more in private that they are not willing to talk about in public—cooperating with our intelligence agencies and sharing intelligence, things of this sort.

So, we want to work in every way, unilaterally, as we are doing, strengthening our legislative tools, our security, our intelligence service, bilaterally, cooperating with other governments, multilaterally, and in international forums, using every device we can to push the war against terrorism.

That is the end of my statement, Mr. Chairman.

[Statement of Ambassador Oakley follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT B. OAKLEY, DIRECTOR, OFFICE FOR COUNTER-
TERRORISM AND EMERGENCY PLANNING, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate the opportunity to testify today as part of your hearing with Mrs. Klinghoffer and to discuss our efforts to combat international terrorism.

The brutal murder of Mr. Leon Klinghoffer and the ordeal suffered by his wife and the other passengers were terrible and painful. They were mind numbing in their brutality and horror. But they have not frozen us in shock. They have strengthened our resolve and determination to continue the fight against the scourge of international terrorism.

This struggle has been and will continue to be a long and complex one. It is a constant effort, waged against not just one brand, form and source of international terrorism, but a wide and changing variety of terrorists.

The tactics and motives of terrorist groups around the world are numerous, just as the groups themselves are. As some groups, or their original members, fade or are put away, others emerge. For example, fundamentalist Shi'a terrorists were not a problem until several years ago. Sikh terrorism spread from India to the rest of the world only in the past year or so. At the same time, it has been a year since there has been an international terrorism incident involving Armenian groups.

In dealing with these changing threats and groups, the U.S. Government uses a number of weapons and avenues of approach. They can be roughly grouped into three categories: Unilateral, bilateral and multilateral.

I understand that in this hearing you wish to focus on the multilateral efforts and I will do so. First, however, I want to very briefly describe the unilateral and bilateral approaches in order to provide a context, so that the casual viewer or reader of these hearings will not get the impression that the multilateral approach is the only, or even the main, avenue we are working.

UNILATERAL

The unilateral actions, those we take by ourselves, include passive security steps such as strengthening the physical security of our embassies and missions and improving cooperation with the private citizens abroad for their protection. A welcome legislative move was the \$356 million your committee authorized for increased physical security for our embassies and buildings overseas. With the additional impetus of the Inman Panel report, in which you played such an active role, a further significant increase in the efforts of the State Department can be expected. We also are stepping up the effort to improve our intelligence gathering and analytical capabilities, to

sensitize U.S. Government employees overseas to the terrorist threat and precautions they can take, and to assess more accurately the terrorist threat to Americans who use foreign airports and ports. The legislative provisions on aviation security which were initiated by this Committee have given us more tools with which to work.

Other unilateral measures, of a more active nature, include legislation passed by Congress, such as the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984 which broadens our legal tools against both domestic and international terrorism, and the legislation giving domestic effect to international anti-hijacking and hostage-taking conventions. Legislation passed last year also authorizes rewards for the arrest and punishment of terrorists who attacked Americans, and we already have announced several reward offers for the effective prosecution and punishment of terrorists; just as we have begun to use vigorously the other laws as a basis for requesting extradition of terrorists to this country.

We also have been improving the ability to take military actions we consider appropriate, as we did with the hijackers of the Achille Lauro, depending upon the specific circumstances of the individual case.

BILATERAL

Bilateral steps include ongoing efforts to improve our cooperation with other countries in a variety of fields,

such as intelligence gathering, and the sharing of information and ideas on physical security, anti-hijacking and other measures.

We have put heavy emphasis on bilateral efforts because, in past experience, we have found that this is generally the most productive way to build meaningful international cooperation. We are working to get all countries to recognize first that terrorist actions against some states are in effect terrorist actions against us all, and second that the most effective means to deal with the problem is to face it together, sharing information, protecting better each other's diplomatic facilities and developing common plans of action.

Closer counter-terrorism cooperation has been on the agenda for meetings which the President and the Secretary have had recently with world leaders in New York and Washington, including the Soviet Foreign Minister. I have travelled, as have other members of the inter-departmental group on terrorism and members of my staff, to discuss specific measures for closer cooperation with other governments. At the end of last month, I travelled to Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy to talk about threats from Middle Eastern and other terrorists in these countries. My deputy, Parker Borg, met recently with British and Canadian officials in Ottawa in another series of exchanges designed to coordinate our policies and improve understanding.

The real payoff, however, is not the special meetings and high-level discussions. It comes in important intelligence passed quickly through liaison channels, in the greater protection of our facilities, and personnel abroad, and the surveillance and arrest of terrorists by local governments, and in other governments consulting with us on how to bring pressure to bear upon those states which flout international conventions or directly support terrorist groups. During the past 11 months, more than 90 planned terrorist attacks were thwarted by good intelligence work and preventive measures by ourselves or our allies.

It is both easier and more effective to develop these relationships on a one-on-one basis as they are not so likely to be complicated by the various foreign policy and other concerns which multilateral fora generate. Some governments, for example, are unwilling to share information in a multilateral forum that they might be willing to share on a bilateral basis or they are prepared to act with us, but not with other states on specific issues. At the present time, agreements among smaller numbers of like-minded states generally are easier to achieve and provide greater opportunities for effective cooperation than international conventions.

One agreement we believe is important to help cooperation is the supplement to the U.K. Extradition Treaty. Senate ratification will help us maintain credibility in our efforts to bolster the use of the legal

processes to combat terrorism when we are trying to extradite suspected terrorists for trial in the United States.

An important tool in our overall bilateral effort is the Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Program. About 1,500 officials from 26 nations already have participated to date. The program, which has been operating for about a year and a half, is useful not only in providing assistance to developing countries. As you know, it also provides a format for policy-level exchanges and discussions with anti-terrorism specialists from the more developed nations.

We expect a team from the Netherlands shortly, for example, and we already have had meetings with officials from Britain, Denmark, Israel and some Arab countries. When the Spaniards contacted us urgently about the need for international counter-terrorism cooperation not long ago, we were able to use this program as a mechanism to begin discussions. These meetings underscore the importance of the ATA Program in securing closer international cooperation at the policy level, as well as its importance in training the personnel of other governments to do a better job of countering terrorist threats to Americans as well as to themselves. We appreciate your Committee's strong support for the program and its action in increasing the authorized funding to \$9.8 million in the Foreign Assistance Act for Fiscal Years 1986 and 1987.

We have put a heavy emphasis such bilateral efforts because this generally has been a more productive area in which to achieve concrete actions than the purely multilateral arena. There also have been some valuable multilateral results however, such as the variety of international conventions.

MULTILATERAL

During recent years the U.S. has looked to the Summit Seven industrial states for closer cooperative measures against terrorism. The results, unfortunately, have thus far been mixed, although we continue to press for progress here as elsewhere. Terrorism has been a topic of discussion among the Summit Seven leaders, the Foreign Ministers and the expert groups especially established to consider counter-terrorism initiatives. Following the Summit sessions there have frequently been communiques condemning terrorism and providing direction for further areas of cooperation. Special attention has been given at the Summits to aircraft hijacking, specifically through the Bonn Declaration of 1978, which provides for concerted sanctions against states that fail to take appropriate legal actions against hijackers. The Bonn Declaration led to sanctions against Afghan Airlines in 1982. However, this was the only occasion in which action has been taken.

Attaining effective cooperative measures even among a small group of like-minded nations such as the Summit Seven is not easy. It has been difficult to obtain much progress beyond the aviation field. It takes only one country to slow down or block a consensus agreement on one issue or another. Each state faces a different sort of terrorist problem, has its own foreign policy or economic priorities, and thinks in terms of its own interests in dealing with others. We were disappointed that the Summit Seven nations were not more supportive of our efforts to deal with the aftermath of the TWA 847 and Achille Lauro hijackings.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS

A major part of the multilateral effort over the years has been concerned with such things as international conventions, for example, those dealing with aircraft hijacking, or with specialized agencies such as ICAO.

The major international conventions are:

- The 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft;
- The 1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (Hijacking);
- The 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation;
- The 1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment

of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons including Diplomatic Agents, and;

--The 1979 Convention Against the Taking of Hostages.

These international conventions are important because of the moral force they offer. Their effectiveness is limited, however, by the willingness or ability of states to enforce them. The existence of these conventions by themselves has not halted hijackings, crimes against diplomats, or hostage taking. As with extradition treaties, obtaining a country's ratification of a Convention or Treaty is one thing. Obtaining adherence is something else.

Nonetheless, they do help set a standard or benchmark, and give us a basis for seeking action and can be useful in dealing with the other country or countries involved.

Meanwhile, the specialized agencies of the United Nations are another area of activity. I will mention them only briefly because your Committee already has held hearings on the subjects. I refer to the activity in ICAO to strengthen aviation and airport security. Your Committee's initiatives this summer helped in this effort as did Transportation Secretary Dole's strong presentation to the ICAO Council.

Last week, the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Merchant Marine Sub-Committee held hearings on maritime safety and the International Maritime Organization (IMO).

We are assessing the port and maritime security situation worldwide to see what more needs to be done. Meanwhile, we will be pressing the IMO, at its Assembly meeting in London next month, to issue more precise international standards for maritime security.

Throughout the U.N. system and not only the ICAO, the U.S. Government also has been actively promoting anti-terrorism measures. It has been a team effort, involving this office and the Bureau of International Organization Affairs.

RECENT ACTIONS

The most recent step has been the October 9 statement by the President of the United Nations Security Council Ambassador Walters on the Achille Lauro hijacking. It was the strongest pronouncement to date by the Security Council and condemned "terrorism in all its forms, wherever and by whomever committed."

A month earlier, at our initiative, the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders meeting in Milan, Italy, adopted a strongly worded resolution calling on all states to strengthen anti-terrorism cooperation. Our resolution received broad support.

Also last month, the World Tourism Organization meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, expressed its deep concern over the number of violent attacks against innocent travellers and

the travel industry and urged member states to take additional steps to ensure the safety of international travel. The U.S. played a key role in achieving consensus adoption of this resolution.

As you know, the current U.N. General Assembly is considering in its Sixth Committee a detailed and comprehensive resolution, sponsored by the United Kingdom, that would condemn international terrorism. We are hopeful the General Assembly will pass a solid text that underscores the international community's condemnation of terrorism and calling for specific action. In working on this, in cooperation with a large number of other Western states, we are guided by the sentiments expressed by Congress during recent months, especially during consideration of the Foreign Assistance Act which took place after the TWA 847 hijacking.

In the United Nations, however, terrorism is not a clear-cut issue. Cuba has introduced a competing draft in the Sixth Committee which will be supported by the Eastern bloc and some of the radical non-aligned nations. That resolution politicizes the debate by focusing on so-called "state terrorism" as a weapon of "imperialist" countries. Also, there are the long-standing problems in trying to reach an agreed-upon definition, with various countries trying to protect those whom they consider to be "freedom

fighters." These are not easy matters to resolve and we appreciate having the benefit of your experience, Mr. Chairman, as a member of the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly.

On another matter related to terrorism, the State Department is exploring the feasibility of an urgent U.N. resolution calling for the unconditional release right away of all hostages in Lebanon. We are looking toward a resolution that could be supported by all those countries whose nationals are now being held hostage, including the USSR.

We will be alert to other opportunities for anti-terrorism initiatives in the United Nations. We are trying to emphasize that recent events show that terrorism knows no international boundaries, respects no passports. As the Soviet Union recently discovered to its dismay in Lebanon, even it is not immune to the virus of terrorism which they have helped spread. The Achille Lauro demonstrated the international nature of the travel business. Citizens of more than 20 nations were on the original passenger manifest of the ill-fated cruise. Citizens of more than 75 countries have been the victims of terrorist attacks so far this year. Terrorist groups, in a world of imitation and acquiescence and with support from various governments, can spring up overnight almost anywhere.

We are trying in these efforts to raise the consciousness of the United Nations members to the terrorist problem. The U.N. itself traditionally has not been action-oriented, but we hope these various efforts by us and other concerned states will make the member nations more inclined to take actions themselves or in cooperation with other governments.

The discussions with other members of the U.N. and their reactions to the recent developments also will be useful, we hope, in exploring some of the other ideas which already have been raised here, such as the Congressional amendments calling for establishment of an International Anti-Terrorism Committee and an anti-terrorism treaty. In the past, the odds against obtaining useful results through such multinational approaches were very high. However, it may be that the recent developments such as the Achille Lauro hijacking and the kidnapping of Soviet diplomats in Lebanon will in time improve the chances for more substantial progress in the multinational arena.

In summation, we are working on a number of multilateral approaches as well as unilateral and bilateral steps. Just as there is no single terrorist threat or tactic, there is no one way of countering the international terrorism threat. The multilateral approach is an important part of the effort and we will pursue it vigorously along with the others. We see these various approaches, unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral as complementing and supplementing each other.

Obviously, there is no magic solution or formula and we are open to ideas and look forward to our continuing discussions with you. I'd be happy to take any questions.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

To be fair, I will use the clock and put myself under the 5-minute rule and then we will alternate.

Who is in charge of fighting terrorism at the State Department?

Ambassador OAKLEY. I am in charge of the—what is, at the moment, the Office of Counterterrorism, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Would you be the person that signs off on a resolution that would be introduced in the U.N. Security Council?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No. That is something that our office would work on together with the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, and we would seek approval ordinarily of the Undersecretary for Political Affairs or perhaps the Secretary of State himself.

Mr. MICA. Three weeks ago, at the United Nations, there was a resolution condemning the Israeli raid in Tunisia on the PLO headquarters.

As a new Ambassador-delegate to that body, I recommended that we immediately introduce a countermeasure condemning terrorism. We still have not had word back on approval of that resolution.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well—

Mr. MICA. Where is it? Are you aware of it?

Ambassador OAKLEY. I am aware of it, yes, sir, and it is being considered. As I stated, we had a statement by the President of the Security Council, condemning terrorism in all its forms at the time of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking.

The tactics and the wording of a resolution to be presented officially in the Security Council have to be carefully studied if we are going to get it adopted and if we are going to be able to beat back amendments and tricks, such as the Cubans are trying to play in the Sixth Committee at the moment, in the General Assembly, where they are trying to transform the debate on terrorism into an attack upon the United States.

I would suspect that the final outcome and I would suspect that it would be positive—but I cannot guarantee it—moving in the Security Council, will depend upon a very careful analysis of these factors, plus some consultation with other governments to see what kind of support we can get.

Mr. MICA. I do not understand why it takes us 3 weeks, and we do not have any idea where the antiterrorism resolution is, to get into the U.N. system, and all of the other Arab nations and anti-United States nations have a resolution pending before the Security Council condemning the United States and our allies and our response on an act that happened a day or two before, and we still have not done anything.

Now, what you are talking about with regard to the Cubans is trying to turn around the British resolution on terrorism. Is that British resolution what we had thought would be our resolution?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Frequently, Mr. Chairman, as I am sure you know, it is preferable for tactical reasons to let another country introduce a resolution rather than having the United States introduce it directly in trying to get the maximum number of votes.

Mr. MICA. Well, let me tell you, Mr. Oakley, we had Ambassador Kirkpatrick before this committee yesterday, and I totally disagree with that. I know there are certain reasons and certain approaches

where you try to wait and build the votes and build the momentum, but I felt, and there were a number of my colleagues who felt, that at the time they had a resolution pending to condemn the United States for its support of Israel, that we ought to have a resolution out there condemning all acts of terrorism. We named the TWA hostage situation, we named the *Achille Lauro*, we named the Beirut hostage situation, and the marines in Beirut. We even named the Soviet diplomat who was killed because we are not talking about countries, we are talking about a response, and I do not see it at the United Nations, at least, and if we have to wait for 3 weeks to get a response to offer a counterresolution, there is something wrong with the system that we have that fights terrorism.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, let me see if we cannot have something—I will check with my colleagues elsewhere in the State Department, if we cannot have something ready by the time the other resolution gets to the stage where it is formally debated.

Mr. MICA. OK. Let me ask you another one.

Ambassador OAKLEY. But, we did, as you know, have a statement by the President of the Security Council that had the endorsement of all members, which condemned terrorism in all forms.

Mr. MICA. Last year, Secretary Shultz set up a commission to study terrorism. Five members were on it. I was the only one from this side of Congress on it.

It was completed 5 months ago, recommended major security measures, an entire package to go to the Congress, Secretary Shultz sat in the chair you are sitting in and said the entire administration, everybody supports it, my panel on both sides has said we support it; and we have been waiting for 5 months for submission of it.

Where is it?

Ambassador OAKLEY. It is my understanding it is in the Office of Management and Budget, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. It is a major concern of the United States in fighting terrorism. It is the single largest package we have ever had presented to the Congress, and it is stuck for 5 months in the Office of Management and Budget.

Somewhere, somehow, the priorities are getting lost. When there is a hijacking, when there is a terrorist attack, all the attention is focused on it and this room is filled with cameras, everybody saying do something. Now, we have not had a major incident until this last one, and for 5 months it has been sitting at OMB.

Now, I know you cannot answer for them, and we will try to get them up here, but I think, after the testimony that we have heard just before yours, the feeling that we hear from the citizens across this country, the outrage we are seeing in the world, where Hussein is even taking Arafat to task, when we cannot get a resolution introduced in the United Nations, and we cannot get a package up here on the Hill, something is wrong.

You are in charge of fighting terrorism. We better come up with some suggestions to move these things a lot quicker because we are going to be held accountable as representatives of the people, and our task is to hold you accountable.

I see my time is up. Our ranking member, Ms. Snowe.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Oakley, did your agency and our relevant agencies in fighting terrorism, anticipate a hijacking like the *Achille Lauro* on sea?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No; we did not.

Ms. SNOWE. Was it ever a matter of discussion?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No.

Ms. SNOWE. So—

Ambassador OAKLEY. Theoretical possibility, but we had no reports that anything of this sort was imminent or pending or being planned.

Ms. SNOWE. So, there was no contingency planning on the part of your office and the Department to anticipate or at least attempt to anticipate scenario?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, there is a great deal of contingency planning, which went into action as soon as the ship was hijacked, but I felt that the question was whether or not we had any advance warning it was going to take place, and the answer to that question was no.

Ms. SNOWE. We cannot anticipate every incident, naturally, but we certainly can address all potential possibilities for certain scenarios to develop.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Indeed.

Ms. SNOWE. And, in this case, we have been tightening up on aviation standards, and I just want to know from you, did the Department, did your office, ever consider the fact that a hijacking could take place on the sea?

Ambassador OAKLEY. As a possibility and the U.S. Government does have contingency plans and organizations that are well equipped to deal with this type of situation.

It is exceedingly difficult to prevent it by persuading other governments in the absence of such a crisis to spend the money required and set the standards, which would be inconvenient to travelers, to put the sort of security into their ports that we have been successfully pushing them to do in their airfields.

Ms. SNOWE. OK. So, until a tragedy occurs then, there is no way that we can persuade our friends and allies and other countries that we need to address security problems, whether it is on ground or in the air or on the sea?

Ambassador OAKLEY. It is difficult. It is not that we are not trying, but it is certainly difficult.

Ms. SNOWE. Do you not think it would be important for our Government, though, to anticipate rather than react to a crisis?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Certainly.

Ms. SNOWE. I guess I would hope that that would be part of our contingency planning, not contingency after the event, but prior to an event.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes, ma'am. I think so, too, and, for example, as you know, I think, in the situation involving the Athens Airport, we had been working seriously with them, trying to get them to do something about it for about 4 months prior to the TWA hijacking.

We had not gotten what we wanted, which strengthened our resolve to impose a travel advisory. It caused them to react very rap-

idly to do the things which, up until that point, they had been unwilling to do.

Ms. SNOWE. Ambassador Oakley, I reviewed your statement to this committee last night, and in that statement, you said that you are working on bilateral initiatives as well as multilateral initiatives.

In addition, you said you are working on closing loopholes in extradition treaties. Did your office, and did the State Department, as well as the entire administration, anticipate that we would have problems with either Italy or Egypt in this kind of scenario?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Let me ask Mr. Kozak, the Deputy Legal Adviser, to answer that question. I brought him along so he would be able to address this with all the expertise we have available.

Mr. MICA. I am sorry. I did not get that name. Would you state your name and title?

Mr. KOZAK. My name is Michael Kozak. I am Deputy Legal Adviser at the State Department.

We have been undertaking to tighten up our extradition treaties. The program has been going on for almost 10 years now. For example, the treaty with Italy that we relied on in this case was renegotiated in 1983. So, it was a relatively recent edition. The treaties with Egypt and Yugoslavia are older ones. In the case of Yugoslavia, where we also made a request, we felt that the treaty provided ample grounds for the request we made.

As you know, the other governments did not carry out the actions that we asked of them in terms of arresting the people we were seeking. But in our opinion, this was not due to any defect in the treaties themselves; it was the more general problem Ambassador Oakley mentioned of getting other governments to carry out treaty commitments that have been made.

Ms. SNOWE. Well, I guess, getting back to the question then, Ambassador Oakley, then, were we surprised at the reaction of Egypt and Italy to the various events that occurred as a result of the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Indeed, we were surprised, and as you well know, from the statements of the Secretary and the President, we were unhappy.

Ms. SNOWE. Since last March in your testimony before this subcommittee, what exactly has been done to develop initiatives with other countries? What precise initiatives have been undertaken since last March with other countries to tighten up the international fight on terrorism?

Ambassador OAKLEY. I mentioned some of them in my prepared statement today; the things which have been done in the public domain. There has been a lot of work done in the field of international civil aviation.

This subcommittee has helped. The International Civil Aviation Organization has adopted, I think, 19 new tough standards to apply to civil aviation abroad. We will be seeing what we can do with the shipping problem and the International Maritime Organization, but we have been working on these things for a long time.

We have had any number of consultations, and discussions with various governments, which have not produced anything that is tangible, that can be presented to this committee, but I can safely

say there has been a considerable increase in the quantity and the quality of intelligence being exchanged on the identity and movement of terrorists.

As I said, this has led to, in part, to our ability to prevent 90 incidents over the past year that were directed against the United States.

We have had adopted resolutions in the Organization for the Prevention of Criminal Activities, Interpol, the World Tourist Organization, and several other things of this sort.

We have, will have had by the end of the year, some 1,500 participants from other governments in our antiterrorist assistance program. We have introduced, and we hope to get congressional approval, for a special counterterrorist program for Central America.

We have had formal policy dialog, if you will, once again, intangible because it is hard to measure the effects with governments such as Israel, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Pakistan and others to see what could be done. We think that we have improved the understanding and cooperation.

These are things that come directly within the purview of what we are doing in our office, and with the State Department. The military has been doing things, which I do not have the details and would not be able to decide whether or not to reveal them to this committee, on its own to improve its own ability to react, and they have improved their capabilities.

These are some of the things that have been done——

Mr. MICA. Would the gentlelady yield on that point?

Ms. SNOWE. Yes.

Mr. MICA. Are you saying the military is making plans and you, as our chief combatant on the war on terrorism, do not have the information as to what they——

Ambassador OAKLEY. I do not have the details, Mr. Chairman, and let us understand——

Mr. MICA. Does your office have the details?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Sir?

Mr. MICA. Does your office have the details?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We have some details, yes, but this is really a matter for the Defense Department to decide.

We are not in charge of military operations. As you have seen in, I think, some of the stories that have appeared about the managing of the *Achille Lauro* incident, and as you may have heard in public testimony from the Department of Defense and from others, there is a terrorism incident working group in the White House which takes over in the event of a crisis on issues such as whether or not one uses military force.

Mr. MICA. What you are saying, essentially, is the State Department operates in the dark when it comes to coordinating with the military. They have to wait to find out what they might be able to do or not do through the White House.

Ambassador OAKLEY. In such a crisis situation there is a group in the White House which takes control.

Mr. MICA. Excuse me. My time is up, and I will proceed with that in a moment.

Congressman Smith has been waiting. If you will yield to Ms. Snowe for another moment, I will raise this on my own time in just a minute.

Ms. SNOWE. Just to follow up, there is no coordination between the State Department and the Defense Department?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No; I did not say that.

What I said was that in a time of a crisis the decisions on whether or not to use military force, and how it should be deployed are quite understandably taken under the aegis of the National Security Council and eventually approved by the President.

Ms. SNOWE. Yes; but do you not develop the policy on terrorism?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We, the State Department, have a policy, the Defense Department has a policy; we work closely together in contingency planning for things of this sort. The contingencies include a ship hijacking, and action was taken pursuant to the contingency plans as modified during the event, during the *Achille Lauro* hijacking. The results, I think, were not unsatisfactory.

Mr. MICA. We both will follow up on that.

Congressman Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Oakley, I just asked the staff if we had received from your office an updated management flowchart which was the subject of an enormous amount of consternation a few months ago when you appeared last before this committee.

I am informed that we really do not have one that is up to date. We would like very much, and I would ask the chairman to request that the record would be open so that you could provide us with some kind of administrative chart that the Congress could follow, which gives us an idea of just what it is that your office does, who you are responsible to, what job you are responsible for performing, who is responsible to you; and in the event of a crisis, where your office fits in the whole picture.

Because we keep, I think, expecting more of you than actually occurs, and maybe it is our fault for doing that. Maybe we think your office is the end-all cure for this, and maybe you do not have the power, the influence, the budget, the people, the mandate, whatever it is, but I sure as heck would like to see exactly what it is that your responsibilities are; and in the context of the whole administrative structure of the State Department, where the Office of Counterterrorism resides, who is responsible to who.

So, I would appreciate it if you could provide the committee with that.

[The information referred to follows:]

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1985

Dear Mr. Smith:

During the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee's November 13 hearing on diplomatic security, you said you had asked for, and never received, a diagram showing how the Department is organized to carry out its security and counter-terrorism responsibilities. I have enclosed a chart which illustrates this delineation of responsibilities within the Department.

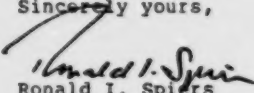
I am also enclosing a statement of responsibilities in the security area which I sent to our Embassies outlining the responsibilities of the Under Secretary for Management, the Director of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and the Ambassador.

I have not dealt with the inter-departmental relationships in the counter-terrorism field since this function no longer falls under my jurisdiction.

If we can provide further information, please let us know.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,


Ronald I. Spiers

Enclosure:

As stated.

The Honorable
Lawrence J. Smith,
House of Representatives.

Statement of Responsibilities in the Security Area

A. Responsibilities of the Under Secretary for Management:

1. To establish overall policy and procedures governing security of official personnel, facilities and information at home and overseas.
2. To determine level of resources needed to achieve acceptable levels of security.
3. To review and approve priorities for the allocation of resources.
4. To secure approval of requested resource levels from OMB and Congress.
5. To ensure coordination of security policies with overseas buildings, communications and information handling operations.

B. Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security:

1. To formulate and implement policy, standards, practices and priorities for security of official personnel, facilities and information.
2. To develop and recommend security resource needs and to allocate resources among security programs in accordance with approved priorities.
3. To maintain liaison with the U.S. overseas business community on security-related issues and with other governmental agencies with personnel at U.S. missions abroad on operational security matters.
4. To provide technical expertise and equipment in support of overseas posts' security programs.
5. To receive and review all intelligence and other material pertaining to security threats and to take action as appropriate.
6. To ensure that security alerts are provided on timely basis to overseas posts, to approve all such alerts and to monitor embassy responses thereto.
7. To ensure the adequacy of embassy emergency action plans, training and exercises.

8. To develop adequate means to fulfill U.S. responsibilities for protection of foreign missions and officials in the United States under the Vienna Convention.

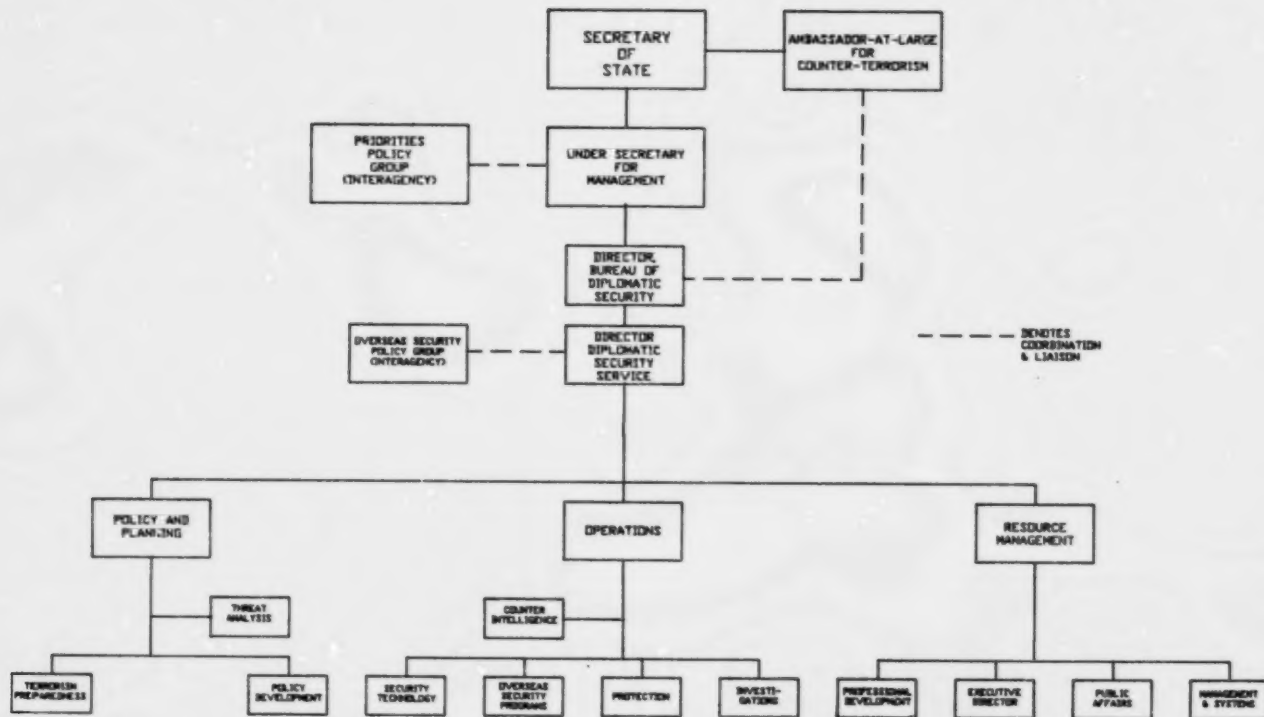
C. The Ambassador:

1. To determine post requirements for all agencies in the physical security area as a basis for recommendations to the Department of State.

2. To establish the priorities for deployment of security measures within the level of resources provided, and to ensure the Department of State is fully and currently informed about any deployment problems.

3. To ensure that the Post Emergency Action Committee functions properly, that plans and programs are current, and that there are adequate drills, exercises, etc., to maintain the necessary level of alertness.

4. To conduct liaison with host government authorities responsible for providing external security for U.S. missions.



Mr. SMITH. Let me get specific: You have talked about the coordination that you are doing on a bilateral basis and the coordination that you are doing on a multilateral basis, the fact that we talked to the Greeks for a number of months and it did not work, and then we issued a travel advisory, and they got busy to do what we had asked them to do previously.

Last week we had members of the Coast Guard, the DOT, the Maritime people here from the administration, and we were talking about whether or not there was any ongoing program with reference to upgrading capabilities here in the United States to protect against ship hijacking, ship piracy, air piracy, airplane piracy, et cetera, at all the ports of entry in the United States and all the airports, et cetera.

Of course, the issue has been raised with me from a port in my district which is looking to get some help to do that.

And the answer was, "No, we don't have anything."

Now, I am curious as to what it is, at this moment, that is happening in terms of the tragedy which struck the *Achille Lauro* passengers, and what we are doing to prevent that.

I know the State Department convened an interagency task force to discuss the situation regarding international maritime standards.

Am I correct?

Ambassador OAKLEY. That is right.

Mr. SMITH. What was the outcome of the meeting? Has there been a determination of what you intend to do?

Have there been any recommendations put down on paper which we could see?

Has there been any decision made to coordinate this with other countries, to use the economic leverage that we have, and you just testified to the effectiveness of the economic leverage—

Ambassador OAKLEY. Absolutely.

Mr. SMITH [continuing]. By virtue of the travel advisory, which is what I told the gentleman the other day, by the way.

We have the economic lever. Remember the airplane hijacking business, and we have the piece of legislation that said, "If you allow terrorist airlines, or airlines from countries controlled by terrorists, or that give haven to terrorists, to land in your country, we revoke your landing rights to come into the United States."

And we could do the same with ships, et cetera.

What are we doing? What did that interagency task force recommend, if anything?

And where are we going?

I mean what is happening right now on the ground?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We should be dispatching in the next day or two a telegram to our Embassies in a number of important states whose governments, we think, will be sympathetic and supportive, explaining precisely what action we would like to see the International Maritime Organization take at its next meeting.

That's the first step.

Mr. SMITH. The next meeting is in London, is it not?

Ambassador OAKLEY. That is right.

Mr. SMITH. When is that meeting?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Next month.

Mr. SMITH. Next month.

Ambassador OAKLEY. At the same time, we are proceeding to survey the security situation in a number of ports around the world. There are many hundreds of them. Therefore, this is a complex, time-consuming exercise, but we are working on it.

We have also requested our embassies to obtain for us the policies and practices of other governments at the moment relating to port security, and to give us their guess, at least, of whether they would be willing; and what sort of measures or persuasion might be useful in making them more willing to tighten up security in their ports.

These are some of the things which we have decided upon at the last meeting at the interagency committee to discuss the question of maritime security.

Mr. SMITH. But we are not doing anything ourselves?

I mean, unilaterally, have we decided to take any action? Unilaterally, what decisions did the interagency task force come to, in terms of unilaterally trying to get some resolution to some of the problems we know are glaring deficiencies around the world?

I know all about asking people to do this, and I know all about taking surveys, and I know about all the other things we do that delay the problem being solved.

What have we decided, if anything, to do unilaterally to increase our capability, or to force others to increase their capabilities?

Have we done anything at all?

Ambassador OAKLEY. I think that the agency to whom one should address the question, what are we doing to increase our capabilities—I assume by that, you mean, what are we doing to improve security in our ports and on our steamships—

Mr. SMITH. No, no, no, no, no.

I am not suggesting that, because you deal more with international problems, so I do not want to involve you in domestic problems which we have also.

I am talking about internationally. What unilateral actions have we taken? I mean, are we contemplating issuing travel advisories anywhere else, before a problem arises?

I mean, something—give us some concrete, tangible results of that interagency task force, besides sending messages to our Embassies in countries, telling them that we would like them to help us.

We have told them that for years.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Congressman Smith, as you know, our objective, which was explained last week, is to try to achieve in the International Maritime Organization something similar to the International Civil Aviation Organization. What we have achieved, has been moderately successful, but not completely successful, because it does depend upon the willingness of other governments. We hope to achieve a tightening up of security in ports such as we have seen with airfields.

Now, we have not issued any unilateral travel advisories. At the moment, we are working, as I said, to try to assess both the threat to individual ports in different countries, as well as the degree of security in those ports.

Until we have achieved that, we are not in a position to issue advisories. We have to look very carefully, though, to see whether there is a threat before one issues advisories.

Mr. SMITH. Could I ask you a question, Mr. Oakley?

We have the 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed Aboard Aircraft.

We have the 1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft—Hijacking;

The 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation;

The 1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents;

And the 1979 Convention Against the Taking of Hostages.

That makes at least seven or eight international conventions or agreements or treaties that we have signed in the last 20 years or so. Don't you think we should have been doing that for the last 20 years? Why, all of a sudden is now when we are first trying to take stock of what deficiencies exist around the world?

Would the planning not be in relation to those commitments that we and others have taken over the last 20 years? Would that not have all been done already? Should we not have assessments of all the places where we are vulnerable?

I mean, what does it take, a hijacking? Does it take another Leon Klinghoffer to get off dead center? I am really surprised. Now, we are doing this, and we are sending embassy cables—we want you to communicate with the governments there and let us know what the deficiencies are.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Congressman Smith, I think there is a question of threat. I guess one could assess every city in the world, and perhaps every hotel, but there have not been ship hijackings like there have been aircraft hijackings; therefore, we have not gone into it in the same degree of detail.

You are absolutely right; perhaps we should have. But the fact remains that they were so infrequent that we did not. There is no convention amongst those you have noted which pertains to shipping. They are really primarily aimed at aircraft, because shipping has been such an infrequent terrorist target.

We would hope that perhaps we could get something similar to this that dealt with shipping, depending upon what type of a reaction that we get at the International Maritime Organization next week.

Mr. SMITH. Well, we had one in 1975, I might add, a ship hijacking off Mayaguez.

But let me just say one other thing, and all my time is up. I would like you to answer, if you can—we discussed it before.

The International Maritime meeting in London next month—where we are trying to get these governments to respond to us by making inquiries now so when they get to London, we can have some answers—can you tell me if there is a high-level State Department and/or and Department of Transportation representative going to that meeting?

Or what is the composition of our delegation?

Ambassador OAKLEY. As I understand it, at present, the commandant of the Coast Guard, who is, indeed, a very high-ranking figure, will head our delegation.

Mr. SMITH. Who from the State Department is going to this conference?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Someone from our Economic Bureau who deals primarily with shipping.

Mr. SMITH. Are you going, Mr. Oakley?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No.

Mr. SMITH. Anyone from your Department going?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Probably not.

Mr. SMITH. This interagency task force, you just told us, is sending out cables to various countries where we want them to cooperate, and we are expecting answers from them when they get to London.

But the very same people that are on the interagency task force that are requesting this information are not going to the conference in London?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes; they are.

Mr. SMITH. You mean, the commandant of the Coast Guard?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Absolutely. He was at the last meeting we had of our interagency task force.

Mr. SMITH. And if we have a ship hijacking in the Mediterranean again, how involved is our Coast Guard going to be?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, the conference is one of civilian officials. If we have another hijacking of our ship, I would suspect that we would have military involvement, at least on a contingency basis, as Ms. Snowe was wondering whether we had contingency plans—indeed, we do.

But there will not be military representatives at the meeting in London.

Mr. SMITH. I understand.

My problem is not that there will not be military representatives; it is that there will not be any State Department representatives who have direct responsibility when the ship hijacking or another hijack or terrorist incident occurs.

And I am going to say to you now, Mr. Oakley, that I firmly believe that your Department and the State Department have yet to elevate this problem to the level that it needs to be elevated. You are treating this for some reason as a problem that, if you close your eyes, it might go away.

This is a major forum, the first forum available after the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*, and nobody from your Department is going to go, and I think that is disgraceful; and I would urge you to reconsider who you might send to that conference.

Ambassador MICA. Thank you.

I must say that I am concerned about that line of questioning, Ambassador Oakley. It seems to me as our chief officer in charge of fighting terrorism—since we are asking that this conference take place and we are trying to get some kind of positive resolution of the issue—I think you ought to maybe reconsider the fact that your office is not represented.

You are the one that we, at least, hold responsible in this area, and that is somewhat astounding. I would like to look at the rea-

sons for you not attending. Maybe there is something that we do not understand.

I will not pursue that right now.

You said earlier that you do not have the details of the Defense Department's plans for handling various terrorist situations, or——

Ambassador OAKLEY. Not in my head, no, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Pardon?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Not in my head, no, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. It was my understanding that your office did not have them.

Ambassador OAKLEY. No; my office has them.

Mr. MICA. Your office does have them.

So you do have some coordinating effort in planning, not only response but preemptive actions that you can take?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes.

Mr. MICA. On a regular day-to-day basis?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes.

Mr. MICA. All right.

I appreciate that, because your earlier statement left great concern.

You indicated that you were dealing with several governments. Now, as I understand it, in Italy, the extradition treaty is current; they are cooperating in fighting terrorism, and you have been working with them, and everything is copacetic, correct?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, obviously, as I said, we were surprised and disappointed that they did not use the extradition treaty in the way we felt it should have been used.

Mr. MICA. Well, let's go to this point. I understand that. But right now, they are cooperating with us.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes.

Mr. MICA. You say that France is not cooperating with us?

Ambassador OAKLEY. That is correct.

Mr. MICA. You are negotiating with France on this subject? Are you personally involved?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We have had any number of discussions with the French on these subjects, yes.

Mr. MICA. What are you prepared to tell the French if they do not cooperate?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Do you mean, is the U.S. Government going to take some sort of punitive action against the French for not cooperating?

Mr. MICA. I am asking you.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, at the moment, we have not gotten to that stage, Mr. Chairman, because we do not think it would be effective.

Mr. MICA. The point is right now you are just saying that France is not cooperating; and we are not willing to make any request or any—I do not want to use the word——

Ambassador OAKLEY. We have made a number of requests.

Mr. MICA. And that is it? We let it lie there?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We are going to keep pushing it, but this is not something that I can decide, as much as I would like to have the, perhaps, power and authority that Congressman Smith says I do not have. But the U.S. Government has not decided to take any

punitive action against France for its position in dealing with terrorism, which we consider to be not as forthcoming as that of Italy.

Mr. MICA. Well, you are the man in charge. What can you do? You have nothing that you can say to France? I am not talking about breaking diplomatic relations, but I am asking you, is there anything your task force has said to the French Government, like "If you don't cooperate, we're going to have to start looking at some of our trade treaties or some of our agreements or some of our diplomatic approaches, or the size of your delegation in this country," or anything.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Mr. Chairman, obviously, it would be something that the entire U.S. Government would have to consider because it is not just the State Department. It obviously would have to be approved within the State Department by the Secretary of State. If one is going to enter into a situation like this, you have to consult the other departments who are also involved, just as here you would have to consult other committees.

But the U.S. Government has not yet taken a decision of that sort.

Mr. MICA. Ambassador Oakley, I must say I guess I would have to agree with Mr. Smith. I am really disappointed in what I am hearing here today. It may be that we are misunderstanding this but it is frustrating when we cannot get a simple resolution introduced in the United Nations, and when we cannot get the President out front supporting a package on fighting terrorism to protect our own Embassies.

We do not seem to be even willing to go to another country, and say, "By gosh, we have reached the end of our line," I do not see any approach—and maybe it is back there and maybe we are not bringing it out of you appropriately—such as saying we are going to get firm with France or any other country, friend or foe, that we cannot deal with any country that condones terrorism or will not work on a worldwide or global basis.

And what you are saying here is, well, it is a policy decision; we have got to talk about it; we have got to get committees to look at it—all that may be so, which means that we have not done any of that. We do not have a plan, from what you are saying, to say to any country, ally or nonally—that we have had it when it comes to terrorism. That is frightening.

I see my time is up.

Ms. Snowe.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Oakley, do we have a pretty good idea of which countries are with us or who are not with us on issues concerning cooperation on international terrorism, in fighting it?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Ms. Snowe, we have a—yes, we do, but we can always be surprised, as was the case of Italy when it comes down to a specific incident.

Ms. SNOWE. So, we have established, with our allies and other friends, we have established relationships in this regard and have conducted discussions. We have initiated, and followed through on such discussions with such countries?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Indeed, but as I said before, it is hard to measure tangible results. For example, each one has a different po-

sition on such things as extradition. The French have not been willing to extradite criminals to the United States, or terrorists who are wanted in this country. That is a problem.

We have had some success in extradition from other governments; we were not successful recently with the request we made to the Government of Italy.

Ms. SNOWE. Now, the Inman panel made a recommendation to establish an international body similar to Cocom, to develop international cooperation among nations so that we can, at least, begin an international fight against terrorism.

Now, does your office, and does the administration support such an initiative which is supported by Congress, by the way?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes, it does; but we have to get the other governments to agree to go along with us.

For example, as you well know, in the TWA 847 hijacking, we were not able to get the other governments to go along, even those with the economic summit group who had joined with us in the Bonn Declaration establishing the basis for collective action of just this sort in the event of the hijacking. They agreed to it; there is a body that exists; but they were unwilling to enforce it.

Ms. SNOWE. But has the administration taken the initiative to raise this issue with other countries, to establish an international forum?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We have not yet made a specific proposal.

Ms. SNOWE. Has the administration decided to support such a proposal?

Ambassador OAKLEY. The administration has not yet made a final decision.

It is a question of trying to see what we think can be achieved before one puts the reputation of the administration on the line. We are hoping to build toward it, as we have in a number of these other international conventions, as we hope to do by the work that has taken place in the U.N. General Assembly, as we hope to do by using the very strong pressure which Mrs. Klinghoffer and others are bringing to bear on the question of terrorism.

Ms. SNOWE. Well, if the other efforts, such as bilateral and multilateral initiatives, have not worked, why not try something else, such as creating an international body?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We have any number of international conventions, and I see no reason why we should not do something else. However, the problem is still going to be in the enforcement and the willingness to take the action, not the willingness to say, "Yes, we agree."

Ms. SNOWE. So, from the standpoint of creating this particular forum, the administration has not taken a position so it really is not because other nations might not agree to it; the administration just has not taken a position to endorse this kind of proposal at this time.

Ambassador OAKLEY. We have not made proposals. We have not made the proposal to other governments, no, ma'am.

Ms. SNOWE. OK.

How did your office, as well as the Department, react once it was revealed that a hijacking had taken place?

Ambassador OAKLEY. A task force within the State Department was immediately set up with my office and the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, and the Bureau of European Affairs.

A meeting was called almost immediately by the National Security Council—

Ms. SNOWE. Yes.

Ambassador OAKLEY [continuing]. Which I attended, together with others from the State Department, others from all the different other agencies involved in this.

Pursuant to the agreement reached there, we began to take diplomatic action with other governments so that they would take diplomatic action.

We began to explain to them, first the strength of our feeling about this matter; second, our very firm position that there were going to be no concessions made so far as we were concerned; and that the ship should not be allowed to go into port so that we would not have the situation such as with TWA 847 in Beirut in which the hostages could be taken off the ship, and held somewhere. We did everything we could to apply pressure direct and indirect, as well as engaging in contingency planning for other types of things had the international persuasive effort not succeeded.

Ms. SNOWE. Yes.

Did we enlist the support and assistance of other countries?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Indeed, particularly those with passengers on board the ship, and that was manifested by public statements from all of them, and by, eventually by the statement made by the President of the Security Council in the United Nations, in terms of public manifestations of the private support which we were getting.

Ms. SNOWE. One last question: Although you will not be attending the International Maritime Organization, which I would agree with the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Smith, that certainly you should be present if we are going to be talking about coordinating policy on terrorism within the administration on behalf of our Government, are you at least familiar with the strategy that will be adopted for that conference?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes, Ms. Snowe.

As I have said, we worked it out at the Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism with the commander of the Coast Guard, who is going to be our principal delegate to that meeting, 3 days ago.

Ms. SNOWE. Yes.

And what is the strategy?

Ambassador OAKLEY. The strategy is to work to establish accepted international standards for ports just as we have done with the International Civil Aviation Organization, why we are going to other governments to try to get them to agree to this in advance so that we will have a sufficiently strong group who are behind this strategy at the meeting so that it can be adopted.

Ms. SNOWE. Yes.

OK, thank you, Ambassador Oakley.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Ms. Snowe, and since we are the only two members here with questions, if you have any followup, please feel free.

An international coordinating committee, a group of 7 or 10 nations, 20 nations, which would come together and agree on fighting terrorism, similar to Cocom, has been proposed.

We have the arrangement right now where if the nations sit and approve thousands of items for trade, any one nation can veto an action, and that is the end of it.

We are trying to do something like this on terrorism. The Inman panel recommended it. Where is it in your Department? Is it being worked on right now, today? Is it at National Security?

Ambassador OAKLEY. In a sense, Mr. Chairman, as I have said earlier, it exists in the experts' group and the meeting of Foreign Ministers and the meeting of Chiefs of State of the Economic Summit Governments to seven: The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan.

These governments are arguably the most influential governments in the free world. They do have an experts group which meets to discuss terrorism; the principle is indeed similar to Cocom: one government can block action or agreement; I do not think that we could find a better group, and yet at the moment, despite all the efforts the U.S. Government has put into it, we have not been able to achieve anything other than some action in the field of civil aviation which has been translated into practice effects of the International Civil Aviation Organization, because one or more governments refuses to go along with the proposals that we have made.

Mr. MICA. What is the name of the group that you are referring to? The Summit Seven?

Ambassador OAKLEY. The Summit Seven.

Mr. MICA. Now, are you telling us then that that is the body that you feel should handle this, and there should not be an international coordinating committee separate and apart on the issue of terrorism?

Ambassador OAKLEY. We could try to set up an international coordinating committee on terrorism as an independent body, I suspect.

Mr. MICA. Would you support that?

Ambassador OAKLEY. I would support it, but I could not guarantee you any particular results that would be better than the results we have had dealing with the governments to whom we are the closest already in this other context.

Mr. MICA. I am not trying to prejudice your answer.

Ambassador OAKLEY. No; but I mean—

Mr. MICA. But, in other words, what I am getting from you is that you do not have any faith in setting up any separate group to fight terrorism; you think there is a group out there—and it may be so.

I just want to find out where you are standing, because there is a recommendation before the State Department to create this body and to have them focus strictly, totally, and full time on terrorism.

What you are saying is that we have got another group that deals with a lot of other issues, and so far they have not been able to work on them, so why set up one on terrorism?

Ambassador OAKLEY. What I am saying is—

Mr. MICA. And it may make sense; it may not.

Ambassador OAKLEY. What I am saying, Mr. Chairman, is that there is a group of representatives of these seven governments which focuses exclusively upon terrorism, which I think is the effect of an international coordinating committee of a small group of governments.

We have not been able to obtain agreement on the specific or the general proposals that we have been pressing in this body, because different governments have views which are different from ours.

That is why I am not terribly optimistic, No. 1, that we would obtain approval; and, No. 2, if we did, that a separate body set up of representatives presumably of the same governments because they are the ones who we believe are the most influential, would have a great deal more success.

Mr. MICA. Well, now, I may be wrong, but it is my understanding that the group that you are referring to is somewhat informal; they deal with a whole list of agreements and approaches and problems. It is not set up specifically, publicly, and totally to focus on terrorism?

Ambassador OAKLEY. No; there is an experts group that is set up specifically to deal with terrorism.

Mr. MICA. As a formal agreement that they will focus as representatives of their nations on terrorism?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes; but with a very limited mandate because one or more governments keeps objecting to doing certain things and keeps raising questions about the mandate.

Therefore, they have not been very effective, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Is that France?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Among others, yes.

Mr. MICA. What others?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Excuse me.

Mr. MICA. What others? Let's get a rundown—there are about seven NATO Alliance—

Ambassador OAKLEY. Seven governments involving a particular group, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Let's go through them.

Ambassador OAKLEY. And for whatever reason, they have had reservations. The one with the most reservations has been France.

Mr. MICA. Tell me about the others.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Others on specific issues have had reservations, often of a legal nature.

Mr. MICA. Now, what I would like to do is write down in the public record, if you are willing to do so, where each country stands with regard to terrorism, as far as the United States has been able to ascertain.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that I should go into it on public record; and it would require—we are dealing with some details on our diplomatic exchanges that we should not reveal in public, but I would be perfectly prepared to discuss it with you or your staff, however you want to do it, in detail in a closed session.

It would involve examining each issue separately, each proposal separately, to see where each country or each government has stood on each of these issues, and we can do that if you would like.

Mr. MICA. Maybe that is a part of the problem. I have been more than willing to go into closed or secret session whenever we need to; but when we are here in a simple exchange, and we are talking about dealing with seven governments that are our allies, and we cannot, for the public record, say that any of the seven support or oppose approaches to fight terrorism, maybe we have gone too far.

Ambassador OAKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I did not say that. What I said was, they are all—and they will make the statements for the public record as they have—opposed to terrorism. But when it comes to the way they react to specific propositions put to them by the United States, say on the TWA 847 hijacking or on extradition—on any number of other subjects, then we quite often find disagreement.

Ms. SNOWE. May I follow up on that, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MICA. Certainly.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you.

Ambassador Oakley, you did mention that in your statement, that some of the Summit Seven nations were not supportive of our efforts with the TWA hijacking as well as the *Achille Lauro*.

What exactly prevented these governments, or some of these governments from assisting us in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking? And what exactly was the nature of their opposition?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Well, as we saw—

Ms. SNOWE. I would like to know how many of the Summit Seven refused to lend us any assistance in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking.

Ambassador OAKLEY. The most obvious example is the Government of Italy that did not accede to our request to extradite Mr. Abu Abbas.

Ms. SNOWE. Was that the only country?

Ambassador OAKLEY. In the case of the TWA 847 hijacking, no other governments were willing to go as far as we had in shutting off air service to and from Beirut International Airport, for example.

Ms. SNOWE. Well, but what is generally the nature of their reluctance to support us in our efforts, legal technicalities, for example? Is that generally what it is?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Legal technicalities; their overall posture, for example, as you know—the President of France did not wish to come to meet with President Reagan in New York prior to President Reagan's meeting with Mr. Gorbachev—another manifestation of a different policy.

In some cases, these governments have preferred to continue to trade with Libya, for example, when the United States has taken action to stop American businesses from trading with Libya.

You can have political motivations, economic motivations, legal reservations—all of the above.

Ms. SNOWE. Do we attempt to apply any pressure on these governments that refuse to give us any assistance?

Ambassador OAKLEY. Yes; on these, in the field of terrorism, as in many other things—the Soviet pipelines, a lot of different issues where we have differences with our allies.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

And unless you have any further questions, let me just close with this:

This is a situation where the United States is obviously in the right, from our perspective, and I think the nations of the free world have to understand that terrorism has to be stopped; it is inexcusable. We can use all the diplomatic niceties in the world about it, but we think we are right.

Why are we as a country so unwilling to move forward with this, and push more strongly than at least we have heard here today with the United Nations, and the Inman panel, the coordinating committee.

Right down the line, there just seems to be a record of hesitancy, or reluctance, of doublechecking, of worrying about reputation, but essentially, not the kind of action that I would have expected.

It may be that we are expecting more than can be performed. If you feel at any stage of this game that you do not have congressional backing, let us know, and I will guarantee that there will be resolutions passed through this Congress to support the strongest possible diplomatic approaches when it comes to terrorism.

But it just baffles us that we have been waiting months here for a resolution for recommendation from OMB, for a security package that was rushed through as quickly as possible—the Secretary of State even came up here and testified the week after it was reported out, because of the urgency, and now it is buried in some bureaucracy waiting for accountants to pick it over. I know that is the process, but it certainly is not the priority that this Congress gave that package; it certainly is not the priority that the President or the Secretary of State gave it.

So, I am disappointed; I am truly disappointed at where we are right now. We may have made some progress, and now we are looking to find instances, wherever we can, on the record of progress made and of potential areas where we can be helpful.

But we are disappointed. I think I can say that for this entire committee.

Let me close and, for the record, announce that we will have continued hearings on this subject primarily on the Inman panel on November 13 and 20, and we will continue to look at this most difficult problem.

Thank you, Ambassador Oakley.

[Whereupon, at 3:42 p.m., the hearing was concluded.]

AFTERMATH OF THE *ACHILLE LAURO* INCIDENT

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1985

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met in open markup session, at 10:05 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dan Mica (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. MICA. The Subcommittee on International Operations will come to order.

Our witnesses are not here but we will proceed at this time and as soon as they come in we will hear from them. I would like to make an opening statement and then we will bring up a piece of draft legislation that the chair has put together, a combination of many of the resolutions that were presented before the committee.

Today, we meet to consider various resolutions pending before the subcommittee regarding terrorism. Unfortunately, as we all know, 1985 has been a banner year for international terrorism. American citizens have been killed, wounded, or otherwise exposed to an increasing number of terrorist attacks. These have occurred in, among other countries, Germany, Portugal, Greece, Lebanon, Colombia, El Salvador, and Italy.

The target is no longer limited to diplomatic personnel and facilities. The most recent wave of terrorism has involved large numbers of innocent tourists, from the United States and elsewhere, traveling on airplanes and on a cruise ship. In each case, Americans, and most recently British, have been singled out.

International cooperation remains questionable. Certain countries continue to provide sanctuary to terrorists; others have refused to cooperate, preferring to protect their own bilateral interests. The *Achille Lauro* incident revealed how unreliable cooperation can be even among our allies.

The continued captivity of Americans and others in Lebanon underscores the willingness of the world community to live with the problem.

Terrorism is not merely an American problem. The figures are startling. In 1985, already: citizens of 87 nations have been victims of terrorism; terrorist acts have occurred in 77 different countries; and in the last decade, there have been over 5,000 incidents leaving approximately 4,000 dead and 8,000 wounded.

I might just say as an aside here, in addition to the human suffering, which we cannot begin to understand nor we want to put a price

tag on, we are starting to see for the first time in 1985 major economic impacts as a result of terrorism. I understand that Greece has lost over \$150 million in business that they directly relate to terrorist problems.

The cruise ship industry—and I don't know if these figures are correct, but it was reported to me this week that they have lost over 60 percent of their bookings worldwide since the taking of the *Achille Lauro*.

So in a rapidly shrinking world we can no longer afford to ignore the ramifications of terrorism. It has become evident that it is in our national interest to insure that terrorism is eliminated from the face of the earth. As long as nations continue to either harbor terrorists, fail to prosecute such crimes, or simply look the other way, as long as an international consensus for combating terrorism remains elusive, the scourge will continue to spread and to undermine the very principles for which we stand.

I believe we are faced with a national emergency. We can no longer rely on the ad hoc approach that we have used in the past. We must formulate new policies. We must venture down paths we have so far ignored. We must instigate new bilateral and multilateral cooperative agreements while reinforcing existing ones.

Finally, we must be prepared to use our political and economic muscle to avert an unraveling tragedy.

Before we proceed with the markup, I have the pleasure of welcoming my colleagues, Congressmen Mavroules and Gejdenson, the authors of two of the resolutions awaiting consideration. Before I call on you, I would like to ask our ranking minority member, Ms. Snowe, if she has a comment.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I ask unanimous consent to include the entire text of my statement in the record.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased that we are having this hearing today as well as a markup on legislation to express the need for greater efforts to combat terrorism. I want to welcome our colleagues who are here this morning who have introduced resolutions on terrorism and more specifically, on the *Achille Lauro* hijacking.

This subcommittee has spent a considerable amount of time on the issue of terrorism, and more recently we had a hearing last week in the aftermath of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking. I think as we all know, the intercept and the capture of the hijackers of the *Achille Lauro* certainly was a success. But on the other hand, we have also recognized that the *Achille Lauro* hijacking exposed the lack of international cooperation in fighting terrorism. In fact, I think it was more shocking because it came at the hands of some of our friends and allies in the region. I hope that it doesn't serve to encourage future acts of terrorism. That is why it is so important here today that we pass out a resolution expressing very forcefully our position on this issue. Most importantly, I would hope that the administration would adopt a unified strategy in combating terrorism and take the initiative to work with other countries in establishing an international consensus, which is something that is desperately needed if we are to attack terrorism successfully.

The resolution that we will pass out here today, Mr. Chairman, will mean little if our Government does not put in place a strong

initiative that will work. So I am pleased to welcome our colleagues and I am looking forward to marking up the resolution.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Ms. Snowe's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. OLYMPIA J. SNOWE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF MAINE

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased that we are moving ahead so quickly with legislation expressing the need for greater efforts to combat terrorism in the world. The subcommittee has spent a great deal of time on this issue. Most recently, we held a hearing last week on the aftermath of the *Achille Lauro* incident.

In some ways, the intercept and capture of the murderers of Leon Klinghoffer was a startling success. But in a more fundamental sense, the *Achille Lauro* incident revealed the absence of international cooperation against terrorism. This lack of cooperation was particularly shocking because it came at the hands of what were supposedly some of our best friends in the region. I am concerned that this fact may ultimately only encourage future acts of terrorism.

This resolution represents a blending of several bills referred to the Subcommittee on International Operations, and the chairman and I have fashioned a strong policy statement working from this base. I believe that this resolution is important and timely, but its passage will mean little unless the United States actually adopts and puts into place a strong initiative to combat terrorism. This resolution is offered in good faith, and as a signal of our willingness to work closely with the administration in a bipartisan effort to make such an initiative work. The President and Secretary of State are committed to waging an aggressive effort against terrorism. That commitment must be fully embraced by those implementing U.S. counter terrorism policy.

I would like to draw special attention to a provision similar to an amendment to a foreign aid bill authored by the chairman. This proposal calls for the establishment of an international coordinating committee as a focus and a forum for increasing international cooperation against terrorism. Such a committee would function in a fashion similar to Cocom, the Coordinating Committee on export controls.

Another key provision, which I strongly support, calls for a unified approach to combatting terrorism within our own government. Unity and consensus within the administration is a prerequisite in the effort to foster unity and consensus among nations.

The United States must energetically pursue both bilateral and multilateral initiatives to increase international cooperation against terrorism. We must build a united front with our allies, but we must also go beyond that group, and commit U.S. prestige to a broad campaign to foster a consensus among nations. The fullness of U.S. influence and authority in the world should be brought to bear in this effort.

Many countries are finally recognizing that terrorism is a menace that respects no borders and spares no nationalities. It can only continue to exist, however, through the sanctuary that countries provide it. An aggressive and sustained international initiative to combat terrorism can deny such sanctuary, and finally bring terrorism to an end.

I urge adoption of this resolution.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentlewoman.

A member of the committee and an author of one of the amendments, Congressman Weiss, would like to make an opening comment.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to express my appreciation to you for your ongoing urgent attention to the matter of international terrorism. This most recent effort is in keeping with your constant prodding of the administration to make a more determined effort in this regard. The resolution before us just seems to be fine overall. I may have just one or two minor concerns as we go through markup, but I think that you have done a fine job.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman.

Let me just restate again for the record, the great concern this committee has. We have been waiting some 4 months for the administration to submit legislation based on the Inman report, which is designed to assist us in fighting terrorism, particularly when it is aimed at U.S. personnel. We still don't have that and we would like the record to show that time is running out.

We have before us two Members of Congress who have been leaders in addressing the issue of terrorism—Congressman Mavroules and Congressman Gejdenson each have asked this committee on numerous occasions to address this issue, have expressed an interest, and along with Congressman Weiss, have approached Ms. Snowe and myself about these hearings so that we can move forward and address this issue.

Gentlemen, we appreciate your leadership. One word about who goes first—I understand both have hearings to chair, but we will start on a seniority basis. Mr. Mavroules?

STATEMENT OF HON. NICHOLAS MAVROULES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. MAVROULES. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mr. Gejdenson, I am delighted to be with you this morning. And to the members of the committee, I, too, commend you for the positive initiative taken here this morning.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to testify before the Subcommittee on International Operations, to discuss the critical need for our country to take active steps to reduce the threat of international terrorism.

On October 10, I introduced, with Ike Skelton of Missouri and 32 cosponsors, H. Con. Res. 213.

The central provision of our resolution states that our Government, at the earliest opportunity, should initiate in cooperation with our allies, some type of multinational agreement establishing:

A cooperative allied strategy for responding quickly to international terrorist incidents; procedures for providing and disseminating adequate intelligence information and analysis relating to international terrorism; and a multinational policy for resolving the crisis resulting from terrorist incidents.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I strongly urge that these basic elements be included in the committee's markup, and I am pleased that these basic points are incorporated into the proposed draft.

I would also ask permission to include in this hearing record, my statement of December 19, 1983 contained in the Armed Services Investigative Report on the adequacy of U.S. Marine Corps security in Beirut, Lebanon.

Mr. MICA. Without objection.

Mr. MAVROULES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Two years ago last month, Mr. Chairman, over 240 Americans died in the terrorist bombing of their headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon. I had the privilege and I led the armed services fact finding delegation to Beirut after the bombing. At that time, I made several recommendations, and let me briefly review three.

First, my remarks stated that the U.S. must formulate a national strategy for responding to the threat of terrorism. The actions of your committee, Mr. Chairman, are quite important in that respect.

Second, my report stated that the U.S. must review its requirements for providing adequate intelligence information and analysis.

The third point urged that we promote international communication and cooperation in this area among the Western allies.

"It is not in numbers, but unity where our great strength lies," said Thomas Paine over 200 years ago.

Mr. Chairman, only the unity of our allies, and the Soviet Union for that matter, can reduce the threat of international terrorism.

Until we act, additional innocent lives will be in jeopardy. Let us here resolve that we have learned from the tragedy of our very recent past.

That, Mr. Chairman, is my very brief and short statement to your committee.

[Additional views of Mr. Mavroules, with attached bill follow:]

STATEMENT OF HON. NICHOLAS MAVROULES, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, CONTAINED IN THE DECEMBER 19, 1985 REPORT ON THE ADEQUACY OF THE U.S. MARINE CORPS SECRETARY IN BEIRUT, BY THE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF HON. NICHOLAS MAVROULES

Throughout our investigation of the bombing of the Marine Headquarters in Beirut one issue has continually surfaced as the most serious threat facing U.S. military, diplomatic and civilian personnel abroad: isolated, premeditated terrorist attack.

While we have studied in great detail all of the circumstances surrounding the October 23 bombing, and the decisions on security made prior to the attack, it is important that our focus now be to prevent future incidents. Additional innocent lives may be in jeopardy because of the bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, and other acts of violence unless the United States and other western nations respond.

One of the highest priorities facing the United States and our allies throughout the free world is the establishment of appropriate policies for preventing these individual acts of violence. As a first step, I would propose that the President and the Congress, through the establishment of a select national commission, prepare recommendations which can be implemented to protect our people and institutions from wanton terrorist attacks.

Security from this type of violence will not be achieved simply by the construction of fences or barriers. It is essential that the threat of terrorism not force a free and open society to close its doors in fear.

At a minimum, a national commission should be established to:

- Formulate a national strategy for responding to the threat of terrorism;

- Review our requirements for providing adequate intelligence information and analysis;

- Promote international communication and cooperation in this area among the western allies;

- Recommending specific guidelines and rules of engagement for security at U.S. Embassies, overseas military installations, and public buildings and facilities throughout the United States;

- Establishing training in counter-terrorist tactics for U.S. military personnel.

Three years ago, U.S. embassy personnel in Iran were kidnapped and held hostage for fifteen months; 241 sailors, soldiers and marines were killed in a single truck bombing attack in Beirut; U.S. embassies in Lebanon and Kuwait have been bombed or destroyed; U.S. diplomatic personnel in Iraq, Greece, Lebanon and France have been murdered. To stop this human bomb brand of terrorism is going to require a much wider view of security than the safety of one unit of Marines at one specific location.

U.S. military personnel in Beirut were caught unprepared. While location security has been improved, our military and diplomatic personnel in the region remain vulnerable and open to further attack. While we cannot guarantee with certainty that all such violence can be stopped, we must offer a more unified and appropriate response. What happened in Beirut could and is happening everywhere. Terrorism knows no bounds.

The establishment of a select national commission is a logical starting point. It should be established without delay.

NICHOLAS MAVROULES.

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 213

On reducing the threat of international terrorism.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 10, 1985

Mr. MAVROULES (for himself and Mr. SKELTON) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

On reducing the threat of international terrorism.

Whereas on October 8, 1985, an innocent American citizen was murdered during a terrorist attack aboard the passenger ship Achille Lauro, cruising in the Mediterranean;

Whereas this incident follows the brutal death of an American serviceman during the hijacking of a TWA airliner in Beirut, Lebanon, the kidnapping of several American citizens in that same city, the bombing of the United States Embassy in Lebanon, and the attack upon the United States Marine Corps compound on October 23, 1983, at the Beirut International Airport killing 241 Americans; and

Whereas international terrorism constitutes one of the gravest and most serious threats to free and open societies: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That it is the sense of the Congress that—

3 (1) the President, at the earliest opportunity,
4 should initiate, in cooperation with our Western allies,
5 the negotiation of a multinational agreement establish-
6 ing—

7 (A) a cooperative allied strategy for respond-
8 ing quickly to international terrorist incidents,

9 (B) procedures for providing and disseminat-
10 ing adequate intelligence information and analysis
11 relating to international terrorism, and

12 (C) a multinational unit dedicated to resolv-
13 ing crises resulting from terrorist incidents; and

14 (2) the United States should adopt as national
15 policy the practice of terminating United States foreign
16 assistance to any nation that has an opportunity to
17 prosecute, or assist in the prosecution of, individuals
18 who are responsible for international terrorist incidents
19 but fails to do so, unless that nation is able to satisfac-
20 torily justify its actions.

Mr. MICA. We thank you very much.

I understand the time commitments you have and the meetings that are presently under way. You are certainly welcome to leave if you like.

Mr. MAVROULES. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Are there any questions of Congressman Mavroules? [No response.]

Mr. MAVROULES. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Congressman Gejdenson.

STATEMENT OF HON. SAM GEJDENSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to commend you and the other members of the committee for marking up this important resolution so quickly. As the author of several sections of this measure, I am pleased to be able to provide these brief remarks on its behalf.

This measure, as it should, praises President Reagan and the U.S. Armed Forces for capturing the hijackers of the *Achille Lauro*. The President acted swiftly and decisively. His efforts, and the military's efforts, are a matter of pride to all Americans. But I think as we all recognize, it is not in every instance, as Ms. Snowe pointed out earlier, that we have an opportunity to either capture the terrorists or even know who the terrorists are to strike back—oftentimes it is a suicide bomber and it is difficult to trace exactly which country even provided support for these terrorist actions.

Clearly what we saw in the crisis that followed the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*, is that the confusion exists even among our closest friends. And unless we find some standardized method of working with our allies, we will continue to be embarrassed and continue to flounder hopelessly during these crises.

The President of the United States will soon meet with the head of the Soviet Union. While I, as I think all of us, feel that the main focus of that meeting has to be arms control, this can be an important opportunity to bring the Soviets into the terrorism discussion. Only recently, four Soviet diplomats were kidnapped; one was brutally murdered. Now we share that experience with the Soviets. We have had the same sort of pain—seeing one of our brave young men in uniform murdered during the TWA hijacking.

Secretary Shultz is correct, we must begin with our allies. I believe with the economic might of the West, we would be able to discipline nations that harbor and support terrorism. We all know too well that many of the governments of this world use their diplomatic immunity to transport weapons and explosives. The West must act in a coordinated fashion to respond to these countries.

The case of Libya is an excellent example. First the United States severed its relations. They continued to do business in England. The English had one of their women police officers murdered by an individual from the Libyan Embassy. The English threw them out. Now they continue to do business in the rest of the Western World. We must act in a unified manner with our allies. But we must also act with the East Bloc. We found in the past on airline hijackings and in other areas, we could work together. This is

something of importance to all citizens of the world. The United States ought to be taking the lead.

Again, I commend this committee for acting so quickly.

Thank you very much, and I would be happy to answer any questions.

[Mr. Gejdenson's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. SAM GEJJDENSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

I would like to commend the Chairman on marking-up this important resolution so quickly. As the author of several sections of this measure, I am pleased to be able to provide these brief remarks on its behalf.

This measure, as it should, praises President Reagan and the U.S. Armed Forces for capturing the hijackers of the Achille Lauro. The President acted swiftly and decisively in this matter and our military was able to successfully carry out his orders. We felt pride at having finally won one against the bad guys. We all know, however, that terrorists most often strike in ways that make it virtually impossible to capture or retaliate against the guilty. How do you punish a suicide bomber?

That is why I believe that it is necessary to establish international guidelines for dealing with terrorism.

I agree with Secretary of State Shultz that the U.S. should meet again with its allies on this issue, but this time, we must, as stated in this resolution, establish an international coordinating committee that comes up with concrete policies of joint action aimed at deterring and responding to terrorism. We must also take action to include the Soviet Union and other Western Bloc nations in efforts to establish uniform guidelines for dealing with terrorist incidents.

While I believe that the upcoming Geneva Summit between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev should focus primarily on

arms control, I believe that it would be appropriate for the President to bring up the prospect of future international meetings on the subject of terrorism and I hope he will do so. The Soviet Union has very recently seen that it is not immune to acts of terrorism, as witnessed by the kidnapping in Lebanon of four Soviet diplomats, one of whom was brutally murdered. It is a shame that being the subject of terrorism is one of the few things we have in common with the Soviets today, but this may be an opportune time to use that commonality to our mutual advantage.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to again commend the gentleman for moving quickly with this resolution and express my full support for its adoption. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman. I appreciate the interest that has been shown to the committee by both Mr. Gejdenson and Mr. Mavroules on this measure. Your testimony was excellent, and particularly when we take a moment here—something that we often don't do in Congress—to commend the President in a bipartisan fashion when we really feel that there is action that benefits this entire Nation. We all were pleased to see this action take place. We all understand the problems that result from terrorism. I am pleased to see the majority and minority come together on a resolution that says we are tired of this.

Congressman Weiss?

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, want to compliment our distinguished colleagues for the testimony that they gave. I am particularly struck by the concern expressed by them—as by the rest of us—about trying to bring the rest of the international community to join with us in dealing with this problem.

I think that the gentleman is right in suggesting that the place to begin is with our allies. But there may indeed, as has been suggested by Mr. Gejdenson, be an opportunity at this point to bring some who are not considered our allies, quite to the contrary, into some of these efforts because of the most recent events—the kidnapping of the Soviet Embassy people and the killing of one of them.

The very supportive statements made by the Russian government, or the Russian press, at the time that the *Achille Lauro* incident was going on, and the capture of the hijackers involved indicates that maybe the climate seems to be appropriate to try to bring them in. So I would hope that the markup that we have will allow administrative leeway to the administration President to reach out to those who are most inclined to participate in this effort, but would not limit by a sense of Congress that that outreach only be to our allies, because maybe they can go beyond that at this stage of the game.

Mr. GEJDENSON. If I can just add to that. I applaud the administration and Secretary Shultz for reaching out to our allies and hope that they will soon initiate some coordinating activity amongst our friends. But if you take a look at the historical development of diplomatic immunity and respect for embassies that to some degree has recently been shattered, but is still upheld by most nations on this Earth, it was a mutual understanding that a continued ability of nations to attack diplomats and emissaries of governments would put all nations in jeopardy. I think that we are today reaching the point where all nations recognize that terrorism is simply not an isolated threat in the Middle East or in Central America, it doesn't simply affect Americans and ignore other nationals, but to the contrary, it creates a danger for all the citizens of this rapidly shrinking world. And for that reason, as we have reached agreements on airline hijacking on diplomatic immunity and other issues, I am hopeful and confident that with the right effort we can reach agreements here as well.

Again, I applaud the committee for its effort.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman. We appreciate his testimony.

Before I recognize Congressman McCain, I know Mr. Gejdenson has a committee hearing to chair, unless there is a question—there is. Congressman McCain?

Mr. MCCAIN. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I will be very brief.

I would like to express my appreciation to Congressman Gejdenson for his ongoing deep concern on this issue. I believe he has been one of the leaders on the Foreign Affairs Committee and in the Congress on it. Your resolution is very important, Congressman Gejdenson, and I hope that we can get a message passed and through the Senate and get this conference convened as rapidly as possible.

Would you agree that one of the results of an international conference on terrorism should be a statement by at least the civilized nations of the world, that we will not negotiate while hostages are being held by terrorists?

Mr. GEJDENSON. I think that certainly procedures along those lines have to be developed—and it is a terribly painful process clearly for those family members directly involved—but the danger signals that are sent when we publicly negotiate just simply puts more citizens in danger, without any question.

Mr. MCCAIN. Again, I very much appreciate your commitment on this issue and I certainly appreciate the opportunity of following your lead on trying to get a resolution to, as our chairman stated, probably the most terrible evil that afflicts international society today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Let me inform the members we have about 9 minutes left on an upcoming vote. We can try to have this resolution introduced and adopted here in the next 2 or 3 minutes or try to come back. The problem is, I understand there are several votes, so at this time we will see how far we can get in about 3 minutes. If there aren't major changes or problems we will proceed. If not, we will have to come back.

At this time, I will bring up a draft resolution on combating terrorism for consideration by the subcommittee. Before the clerk reads it, I would indicate that the Chair has tried very carefully to incorporate the key points of resolutions from Congressmen Gonzalez, and Mavroules; Congressman Weiss, of course, who took a lead on H.R. 217; Congressman Dannemeyer, Congressman Gejdenson and Congresswoman Snowe.

We have tried to compile the key elements and take out any duplication. The clerk will read the bill.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move we waive the reading of the bill.

Mr. MICA. Without objection, the bill will be considered as read.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. I want to thank you and the ranking minority member, Ms. Snowe, for bringing this resolution for us, and I want to thank the distinguished members who testified this morning. While I missed their remarks, I looked over their notes. I think the resolution is appropriate, it is a fine one, expressing our shock and

revulsion at the many incidences of international terrorism which have plagued the globe in the past several years; that also asks for a coordinated effort on the part of the Federal Government to combat this menace.

I fully support the resolution and move its adoption.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Weiss.

Mr. WEISS. In line with the dialog that I had with Mr. Gejdenson, I think that this would present no problems. At the bottom of page 4, where you have the International Coordinating Committee on Terrorism, it seems to me that if we struck the phrase "in collaboration with our allies," that would still give the President and the administration the full leeway to lead off with our allies, but if there are other parties that they felt would be appropriate to bring in, they would have that option. So I ask that we delete that phrase and let that determination be made administratively.

Mr. MICA. The gentleman is moving that we strike the words "in collaboration with our allies," leaving the intention being in collaboration with anyone and everyone that we can work with?

Mr. WEISS. That's right.

Mr. MICA. I have no objection to that.

Without objection, I so order.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move the resolution.

Mr. MICA. The resolution has been moved.

Ms. SNOWE. Second.

Mr. MICA. Second.

All in favor signify by saying "aye."

[Chorus of "ayes."]

Mr. MICA. Opposed; "nay."

[No response.]

Mr. MICA. No nays. It is unanimous.

Thank you.

The subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:30 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

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AFTERMATH OF THE *ACHILLE LAURO* INCIDENT

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1985

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met in open markup session, at 1:44 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dante B. Fascell (chairman) presiding.

Chairman FASCELL. The committee will come to order.

We meet this morning to consider several pieces of legislation, copies of which are on the desk before you.

[Whereupon, the committee proceeded to other business.]

Chairman FASCELL. The next order of business is H. Con. Res. 228, condemning acts of terrorism and other matters, coming from the Subcommittee on International Operations, based on an original text by Mr. Weiss of New York, and the clerk will report the resolution.

Mr. BRADY [reading]:

H. Con. Res. 228—Condemning all acts of terrorism [including the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* and the murder of Leon Klinghoffer]—

Chairman FASCELL. Without objection, further reading of the Resolution will be dispensed with, printed in the record, open for amendment, and the gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes in support of the resolution.

[The resolution follows:]

99th CONGRESS
1st SESSION

H. CON. RES. 228

H.L.C.

Condemning all acts of terrorism (including the hijacking of the Achille Lauro and the murder of Leon Klinghoffer) and calling for the creation of an international coordinating committee on terrorism and for proposals to protect Americans abroad, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

19

Mr. Mica (for himself and Ms. Snowe, Mr. Weiss, Mr. Mavroules, Mr. Fawell, Mr. Yatron, Mr. Wolpe, Mr. Gejdenson, Mr. Kostmayer, Mr. Torricelli, Mr. Smith of Florida, Mr. Levine, Mr. Ackerman, Mr. Mackay, Mr. Udall, Mr. Garcia, Mr. Mack, Mr. McCain, Mr. Bonker, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Dannemeyer, Mr. Leach, Mr. Broomfield, Mr. Lagomarsino, Mr. Siljander, Mr. Solarz, Mr. Lantos, Mr. Berman, Mr. Feighan

submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Condemning all acts of terrorism (including the hijacking of the Achille Lauro and the murder of Leon Klinghoffer) and calling for the creation of an international coordinating committee on terrorism and for proposals to protect Americans abroad, and for other purposes.

Whereas on October 7, 1985, terrorists hijacked the civilian passenger ship Achille Lauro, jeopardized the safety of 400 people of 22 countries, and murdered Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year-old citizen of the United States who was confined to a wheelchair;

Whereas the hijacking of TWA flight 847 resulted in the death of United States Navy Petty Officer Robert Stethem and the hostage taking of 40 other American citizens and affected the safety of citizens of four other countries;

Whereas in September 1985 three Israeli citizens were murdered in Larnaca, Cyprus, by terrorists;

Whereas terrorists kidnapped four Soviet diplomats, one of whom was brutally murdered;

Whereas from 1975 to early 1985, more than 5,000 terrorist incidents were recorded worldwide, leaving more than 4,000 people dead and over 8,000 wounded;

Whereas during 1984 there were nearly 600 acts of terrorism, representing a 20 percent increase over the annual average of the previous five years;

Whereas in 1985 citizens of 87 countries have been victims of acts of terrorism occurring in 73 countries;

Whereas section 506 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (Public Law 99-83) calls for the establishment of an international commission analogous to the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls to

formulate and implement practical measures of cooperation for the elimination of terrorism: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*

3 **SECTION 1. HIJACKING OF THE ACHILLE LAURO.**

4 The Congress--

5 (1) condemns all acts of terrorism and specifically
6 deplores the hijacking of the Achille Lauro and the
7 cowardly and brutal murder of Leon Klinghoffer;

8 (2) commends President Reagan and all others,
9 including officials of the United States Government and
10 members of the United States Armed Forces, who assisted
11 in the apprehension of the perpetrators of that hijacking
12 and murder; and

13 (3) calls on all governments having jurisdiction in
14 the incident to ensure that the individuals who hijacked
15 the Achille Lauro and murdered Leon Klinghoffer are
16 prosecuted and punished.

17 **SEC. 2. COMBATting TERRORISM.**

18 The Congress recommends that the President review, and
19 exercise where appropriate, the options and authorities under
20 existing law for combatting terrorism.

21 **SEC. 3. UNIFIED POLICY AND APPROACH TO COMBATting TERRORISM.**

22 In order to increase the effectiveness of United States

1 counterterrorism efforts, the President should establish a
2 unified policy and approach to combatting terrorism,
3 including security concerns. In addition, the President
4 should take all actions necessary to ensure the close
5 coordination among those administering United States
6 counterterrorism policy.

7 SEC. 4. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM.

8 (a) INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC AWARENESS.--The Congress urges
9 the President to raise international public awareness of the
10 implications of terrorism by proposing to place this matter
11 on the agenda of--

12 (1) the Geneva Summit on November 19, 1985, between
13 Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev;

14 (2) the 40th United Nations General Assembly;

15 (3) the International Maritime Organization; and

16 (4) every subsequent appropriate international
17 meeting.

18 (b) INTERNATIONAL CRIME.--The Congress urges the
19 President to seek the acceptance by all governments of
20 terrorism as an international crime.

21 (c) INTERNATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON
22 TERRORISM.--At the earliest possible opportunity, the
23 President should seek to establish an international
24 coordinating committee on terrorism charged with--

25 (1) developing a cooperative strategy for responding

1 quickly to terrorist incidents;

2 (2) formulating practical measures for improving
3 intelligence sharing and law enforcement activities with
4 respect to terrorism; and

5 (3) convening regular international conferences on
6 terrorism as a way to raise world awareness and
7 cooperation.

8 SEC. 5. SECURITY OF UNITED STATES PERSONNEL AND CITIZENS

9 ABROAD.

10 The President should immediately propose to the Congress
11 ways (including those proposed by the Inman Advisory Panel on
12 Overseas Security) to improve the security of American
13 Government personnel and citizens abroad.

Chairman FASCELL. The gentleman from Florida is recognized in support of the resolution.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, I would like to just summarize by saying this—

Chairman FASCELL. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. MICA. The Subcommittee on International Operations received over a half dozen separate pieces of legislation condemning acts of terrorism.

What we attempted to do was to take the key points and include them in the "Whereas" clauses of this legislation, naming each of the incidents, the killing of the Israelis at Larnaca, the *Achille Lauro* incident where the leadership, I must say, was taken by Mr. Weiss—Mrs. Klinghoffer is a constituent of Mr. Weiss—mentioning the Soviet diplomat, and the various incidents of terrorism that have occurred in the last few years. They are all mentioned in the Whereas clause, calling on the President to take certain international acts to fight terrorism.

One unanimous consent request, the Whereas clause mentioning the six Americans that are held captive in Lebanon was left out of the text before the committee, and I would like to ask unanimous consent that that be included in the text, after the second Whereas clause.

Chairman FASCELL. Without objection.

Mr. MICA. And with that, I do not think I need to explain the legislation. I would just like to close by saying this.

On behalf of Ms. Snowe, my ranking minority member who assisted in this, a special thanks to Congressman Weiss, who led the charge on this, Congressman Mavroules and Congressman Gedjenson who testified before our committee, Congressman Dannenmeyer, Congressman Gonzalez, and several others, all of whose resolutions have been incorporated under this. We appreciate their support.

Chairman FASCELL. Ms. Snowe.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would strongly urge adoption of this resolution. I think we are all aware of the growing threat of international terrorism, and that certainly has been the primary focus of our Subcommittee on International Operations. As the Chairman from Florida said, this resolution is the product of a number of legislative resolutions that have been introduced into the House in recent weeks and months, and includes language from the resolution sponsored by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Weiss, as well as the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. Gejdenson, and other members who have introduced resolutions on the issue of terrorism, and more specifically on the *Achille Lauro* hijacking.

In addition to that, we held a hearing recently on the aftermath of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking. We heard from Mrs. Klinghoffer and the Director of the Bureau of Counterterrorism and Emergency Planning in the State Department.

I think it is very important that we as a committee in the Congress express very forcefully our position on this issue once again. If anything, I think the *Achille Lauro* hijacking exposed the absence of international cooperation on terrorism and we would hope through this resolution that the administration and the Congress

can work together in a bipartisan way to strengthen our efforts to combat terrorism and to establish the cooperation among nations that is so vitally necessary if we are to be successful in this endeavor.

So, while this resolution is timely, appropriate and necessary, it will have little meaning, if it is not backed up and reinforced by substantive and concrete action.

We will continue to monitor the efforts of our Government and the governments of other nations. We have the commitment of the President, Secretary Shultz, others, and certainly the chairman of my subcommittee, and the chairman of the full committee, and hopefully the Congress.

But in the process of providing for oversight responsibility, we must ensure that those who implement the policy of counterterrorism for our Government do so with the seriousness of purpose and aggressiveness that this issue deserves.

So, I would urge adoption of this resolution, Mr. Chairman, and I ask unanimous consent to include the entire text of my statement in the record.

Chairman FASCELL. Without objection, so ordered.

[Ms. SNOWE's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. OLYMPIA J. SNOWE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF MAINE

Mr. Chairman, the growing threat of international terrorism has become one of the most important issues before the International Operations Subcommittee. In recent months, the subcommittee had held numerous hearings on U.S. efforts to combat terrorism. The resolution before us today originated most directly from a hearing we held last week with Mrs. Marilyn Klinghoffer, widow of Mr. Leon Klinghoffer, and with Ambassador Robert Oakley, Director of the Office of Counter-Terrorism and Emergency Planning at the Department of State. The resolution, however, is also the product of legislative initiatives by a number of Members of Congress, including Congressmen Dannemeyer, Gonzales, and Mavroules, and on this committee, Congressmen Gejdenson and Weiss.

The chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Mica, has been instrumental in raising this issue of international terrorism to the prominence it deserves. His leading role in counter-terrorism efforts is a credit to this committee and to this Congress. There is still much to be done at the subcommittee, however, as we begin hearings on legislation to implement the Inman Panel recommendations on overseas security. As the Ranking Republican Member of the subcommittee, I look forward to continuing to work with my colleague from Florida on this issue of such vital importance to the security of our nation.

This legislation is a strong policy statement on the need to strengthen U.S. efforts to combat terrorism. But it also stresses the importance of cooperation among nations. Such cooperation is a basic requirement if the scourge of international terrorism is ever to be ended. The lack of international cooperation was vividly revealed during the *Achille Lauro* incident. This revelation, I'm afraid, might encourage other acts of terrorism against the United States, despite the successful capture of the hijackers of the *Achille Lauro*.

But I believe there is a real opportunity for the United States to aggressively step up its efforts to combat terrorism and to improve international cooperation. Many other countries are finally realizing that terrorism respects no borders and spares no nationalities. In the past year, terrorism struck citizens of more than half of the nations in the world.

While this resolution is timely and important, it will only have meaning if it is followed up by action. We will continue looking into U.S. and international efforts against terrorism at the Subcommittee on International Operations, and I believe the key elements are in place for progress. We have the commitment of the President, the Secretary of State, the chairman of this committee, and the chairman and members of the subcommittee. We must ensure in our oversight responsibility, how-

ever, that those in charge of administering U.S. counter-terrorism efforts also approach this issue with the aggressiveness and seriousness it deserves.

I urge that this resolution be adopted.

Chairman FASCELL. Mr. Weiss.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am happy to be associated with the comments made by the distinguished chairman, as well as the ranking member, Ms. Snowe, and I simply want to express my appreciation for the urgency with which they have addressed this matter, not just on this resolution, but in their oversight activities, and for their insistence that the administration also address the matter with a sense of urgency.

It is clear that recent events have so repulsed the entire world that there may be, for the first time in a long time, a climate for international cooperation in dealing with international terrorism. In this context, quick and urgent action on a multilateral basis is needed now to put an end to hijacking and international terrorism.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Mr. Mica.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, as we vote on this resolution, there is just one point that I did not mention to the committee, and I think this is the most serious part of the whole terrorism situation.

We are passing a resolution condemning terrorism, and it will pass, I expect, unanimously; but I just want to say for the record—and I intend to do this at every public hearing we have from this date forward—we have waited over 4 months for submission from the administration our request on the Inman Panel Report on Overseas Security. We continue to wait, and as we pass this resolution we are trying to make it a priority. We all know that terrorism should be a priority, yet we still do not have the package before our committee.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to supplement the remarks of the gentleman from Florida. First of all, I commend the gentleman from Florida, and the gentlelady from Maine, for pushing this measure through our committee, and getting it before the entire committee at this time. I think it is extremely important and urgent that we raise the general public's consciousness of the problem, as well as the international consciousness.

But I think what the gentleman from Florida has just said about implementation of the Inman Report is very important. I know it is something that you worked on, Mr. Chairman, as chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations, and it is something that we have raised time and time again. How are we going to expedite the process of providing greater security for our personnel overseas?

So often we find that after a tragic incident, there is momentary interest, and then it seems to decline as the time elapses from the time of the incident until the next incident.

I hope that this committee can continue to keep pressure on the administration to implement those Inman recommendations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Let me assure the gentleman from New York, the Chairman of the subcommittee, the ranking member and

our colleagues that this initiative which started in this committee and is now over 5 years old, at least, is a matter of utmost importance to all of us, and we are going to continue the pressure until we get reasonable implementation and follow-through on the recommendations of the Inman panel.

Any further discussion?

[No response.]

Chairman FASCELL. The question is on the adoption of H. Con. Res. 228.

All those in favor, signify by saying "aye."

[A chorus of "ayes."]

Chairman FASCELL. All those opposed, "no."

[No response.]

Chairman FASCELL. The ayes have it, and the resolution is agreed to, and, Mr. Mica, how do you want to go with this resolution? Do you want to go on suspension or—?

Mr. MICA. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. On Tuesday?

Mr. MICA. I think under the procedure, it is still allowed to have members sign on.

Not Tuesday.

Chairman FASCELL. Not this Tuesday.

Mr. MICA. Not this Tuesday.

Chairman FASCELL. Well, then you will have to wait until the next suspension day.

[Whereupon, the committee proceeded to other business.]

